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Urban Livelihood Strategies of Internal migrants and the Response of the City of Johannesburg's Policy Agenda

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment: Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment for the degree of the Master of Science in Development Planning.

November 2006

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Masters of Science in Development Planning in the University of the Witwatersrand, Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment: School of Architecture and Planning, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

_____

Signature of candidate

_____ Day of _____ year__2006_____

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Abstract
Migration is indubitable one of the most complex and urgent phenomenon that will emerge as a robust agenda in global cities' policy and spatial planning trajectory. Internal migrants have been recorded as constituting a relatively significant part of the population of Gauteng and Johannesburg, and any development policies for the City need to account strongly for in-migration (Peberdy, et al, 2004). The importance of migration was also strongly highlighted by the Executive Mayor of the City of Johannesburg, Amos Masondo in his 2004 State of the City address: "*Johannesburg has become a magnet for people from other provinces, the African continent, and indeed, the four corners of the world"*. He also referred to the challenges posed by migration; "*While migrancy contributes to the rich tapestry of the cosmopolitan city, it also places a severe strain on employment levels, housing and public services"*. Kok (2003) postulated that the relationship between migration and City spatial development planning will definitely influence the country's future and that many cities cannot absorb new entrants in the labour market and this means that high population growth will constitute a major future challenge for cities. Kok et al (2004) postulated that the bulk of the research has been conducted on why migrants leave rural areas to urban areas, but little on how they organize, prepare, survive, network, and organize assets and resources, and access services in urban areas.

The livelihood strategies that in-migrants depend on when they arrive in the "unknown urban territory" remain an enthralling phenomenon. The aim of the study was to investigate and provide a conceptual insight into the urban livelihood strategies of in-migrant newcomers in the City of Johannesburg, and to reflect on the City of Johannesburg municipality's policy agenda particularly, Growth and Development Strategy (2006) and Human Development Strategy (2005) and other pertinent strategic planning frameworks-responses to internal migration. Qualitative research informed by surveys, interviews, with open-ended questions and observations in the form of fieldwork was followed. Twelve respondents were interviewed, comprising of seven females and four males coming from the Eastern Cape Province, currently based in Johannesburg, Yoeville suburb.

The study unmasked that in-migrants find their foothold in income generation or employment through family, kin, partner and friend network connections predominantly derived from members coming from the same province of origin. Their livelihood strategies are negotiated and limited to background networks; beyond network connections is what the researcher view as an "incessant impediment in their lives"**.** Regrettably, most in-migrants encountered lacked training, skills, close-knit social networks, market intelligence and education tools necessary to climb the economic ladder in the urban terrain. Generally, those who are unemployed were not engaged in income generation activities while those employed supplemented their wages by income generation activities such as spaza shop and shebeens. A glaring reality is that respondents were not taking advantage of the booming informal market economy of Johannesburg which has a potential to sustain a livelihood**.** This is also compounded by the fact that none of the respondents participated in the civic society sector as way of participating in the City developmental trajectories and also a way of sustaining a livelihood. In a nutshell, a mere background network connection to the person from the area of origin, predominantly family member and friend was found to be the core livelihood strategy to access basic needs and employment opportunities for Eastern Cape internal migrants. The documented response of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan strategic policy agenda is seen through two broader policies. Firstly,

Growth and Development Strategy in its principle of “proactive absorption of poor”. Secondly, Human Development Strategy which focuses on interventions such as; safeguarding and supporting poor and vulnerable households in their efforts to access local and provincial social safety nets, championing rights and opportunities for those who suffer the effects of structural inequality in the City; and building prospects for social inclusion by developing partnerships between the City and its residents. Both GDS & HDS policy responses to migration are discussed at length in the report. The current study argues that the City must devise novel robust policy and planning strategies to understand the profound urbanization trends, socio-economic context of migration patterns and how these impacts on the City infrastructure planning in the long-term growth of the City.

Future studies in this line of investigation must consider taking forward this kind of research to a highest level. It will be proper to extend the study by investigating livelihood strategies of migrants in Johannesburg coming from different provinces and those from the selected African countries for the purpose of comparison using the qualitative approach. It will be appreciated to include investigation of broader urbanization impacts and readiness of City infrastructure provision, planning and growth.

List of Abbreviations

BCDAA-Black Community Development Amendment Act

COJ- City of Johannesburg

COJMM- City of Johannesburg's Metropolitan Municipality

GAA- Group Areas Act

HAD- Human Development Agenda

HDS- Human Development Strategy

GDS- Growth and Development Strategy

HCA-Homeland Citizenship Act

IDP- Integrated Development Plans

LED-Local Economic Development

NEPAD- New Partnership for Africa's Development

RDP-Reconstruction and Development Programme

SACN- South African Cities Network

SADC- Southern African Community Development

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Chapter 1: Preamble and Background

> *"The available census data for Gauteng province suggests that the biggest increase in migration between 1996 and 2001 was likely to be internal migrants, or South Africans moving particularly to the City of Johannesburg from other parts of South Africa. Of all provinces in South Africa, Gauteng has the highest proportion of its 8, 8 million populations born in other provinces and born outside the country" (Statistics South Africa, 2003).*

1.1. Context and background

The dawning of the 21st century in South Africa marked the fast changing aspects of society masked by historical colonialism, brutal apartheid and now post-apartheid dispensation confronted by multiple challenges to restructure settlements and redress the imbalances of the past. Looking back in the 1980s when South Africa was faced with incessant turmoil of apartheid, the country after 1994 first democratic general elections adopted a progressive agenda of social, economic and political transformation (Reconstruction and Development Programme RDP, 1994). Reconstruction and Development Programme was the first wave of urban and rural restructuring and renewal with the aim of uniting people around a common vision of long-term socio-economic transformation as some called it the Former President Mandela's "RDP of the Soul".

Today many of the country's local and provincial governments are confronted with a new set of challenges and crises particularly on urbanization-migration patterns-rural-urban moves; infrastructure services, economic development and growth and in creating the promised enabling environment and jobs. One can argue that these cities have necessary resources to create inclusive, secure, prosperous places and spaces for citizens. One of the scholars of international migration, Landau (2005) pointed out that uncontrollable influx of people from around the country and the continent to major big cities presents the challenge for possibility of further economic and political disintegration.

The population of Gauteng which was estimated at 9, 4 million in Census 2001 was presently reported to grow by approximately 4% (376 000) per year. In the light of the above information, a remarkable proportion of this perpetual growth can be ascribed to net in-migration and this can be seen against the data that suggests that with 9.4 million people in Gauteng, almost 475 000 people were born in other South African provinces *(Statistics South Africa, 2003).* And if this trend continue, then Gauteng will be the most populous and populated province in the near future. This will required creative planning of infrastructure services and provision, housing, roads and transport capacity and efforts to expand the industry and economy to absorb incoming migrants from all South African provinces. This will challenge Cities to plan on time in their short-medium and long-terms strategic policy agendas.

Johannesburg is the largest economic city hub in South Africa and its growth is increasing. Census 2001 indicated that Johannesburg is populated by 3, 2 million people. Census 2001 estimated that the population growth of the city is 4, 1% per annum. Incessant migration from other South African provinces and from outside the country to the City was attributed to the even higher rate of growth of household formation. (Census 2003: Statistics South Africa, 2003).

The present discourse assumes that this will to certain extent put a strain on the Joburg city's overall bulk infrastructure, service delivery, industry and economy regardless of the fact that Gauteng is better economically than other provinces. This in fact will put a strain and will require progressive creative spatial planning, creative thinking, political will and technical commitment to adequately accommodate the new arrivals in the city. Therefore City policy strategies must be tailored to understand dynamics emerging from socio-economic ills, infrastructure deficiency and economic inactivity of sending areas assumed as peri-urban and rural areas of South Africa.

Cross (2005) asserted that migration from rural-to-urban areas cannot be controlled, emphasizing that South Africa has tried and failed for 40 years and also China has tried and failed using tough measures from their capital, Beijing. The research study is at no point looking at the measures or institutional mechanisms controlling migration. The focus of the study is on livelihood strategies of in-migrant's newcomers in the City of Johannesburg. This is coupled with the documentation of the response of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality policy strategic agenda (Growth and Development Strategy and Human Development Strategy) to internal migration.

1.2. Apartheid legacy

Migration policies under the apartheid government were very exploitive to black migrants from outside and within South Africa. Government during 1980s enacted two major reforms in the urbanization policy. They repealed the perceived scandalous Influx Control Act and the Black Community Development Amendment Act of 1986. The latter Act was seen as progressive as it introduced home ownership into black residential areas and established procedures through which the supply of land for blacks could be increased. These developments were perceived and applauded as progressive by urban apartheid planners, but very precarious for black occupants as in effect were thrown deep in peripheral areas of the city, so that they struggle to access economic opportunities and decent infrastructure services, educational and recreational facilities in particular (Tomlinson, 1990).

The Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970 created designated residential regions for black South Africans (the so-called homelands). They were granted state independent rights and people were denied residence in non-homeland regions except only for work purposes. As a result of such humanitarian suppression, black South Africans become more attached and dependent on the system of labour migration. With the demise of the apartheid policy after 1994 first general elections, prohibitions on residency and movement of black people were removed. On that note, one of the implications of grating freedom of residency and movement is the current influx of people in big cities such as Johannesburg and as such cannot be controlled or stopped as we now live in a

constitutional democracy. It is then very critical to study, research and to understand how larger numbers of people from former rural homelands (internal migrants) chase livelihood in terms of income generation and the issues they face in the City of Johannesburg when they first arrive.

The economy of homeland areas during the apartheid epoch was perpetually declining and people became poor. Predominant decline was noted in agricultural sector and one area that was extremely affected was Gazankulu homeland in 1983 (Tomlinson, 1990). This decline was a feature of the economy for all homelands, as people were not equipped to deal with the natural base resources at their disposal. Another crisis was that government and governance in homeland was very poor with policy backtracking and political infightings. In Transkei particularly, the quest for power was at the center of politics with leaders clashing for dominion. In the course of those events people suffered and survived under masked poverty stricken and under serviced communities. People from homelands were having and still have enough reasons for migrating to the big cities in search for jobs and better livelihood resources (Tomlinson, 1990).

1.3. Focus of the research

The majority of newcomers in Johannesburg may find life harder than those migrants who have been in the City for a long time. This may work against the expected assumption from people outside Johannesburg that it is easy to secure a job and generate income in Johannesburg. Internal migrants may struggle to participate in the mainstream economy as a vehicle to generate income and this may depend on the assortment of issues they might face when they arrive in the city.

Cities in South Africa are faced with massive in-migration of poor rural population particularly those coming from the former homeland areas which were intentionally excluded socially, politically and economically. In addition, very little is known about what motivates migrants to leave rural areas and about the factors that influence the creation of new livelihood systems in the new destination and its impact on urban

environment (Kok, & Aliber 2005). This is critical area of study that the current research is striving to unpack.

The Department of Trade and Industry (2005) reveals that cities in South Africa are confronted with excessive strain in striving to accommodate newcomers, notable in terms of infrastructure and services. This might be true for large cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town where newcomers are arriving everyday in search for better life. This may create planning and budgetary paradox in the destination city in terms of general rendering of public services to communities.

Johannesburg's Executive Mayor reflected a widely seized response in his "State of the City" (2004) speech when he alluded to the fact that, "While migrancy contributes to the rich textile to the cosmopolitan city, it also places a severe strain on employment levels, housing, and public services" (City of Joburg: State of the City, (2004)). This was seen analogous to many of government officials who maintain to believe that migration is responsible for shortcomings in public service delivery and sub-optional economic crises facing big cities in South Africa (Landau, 2005). This sentiment played a pivotal role in the conception of this research. If migration is seen as bringing rich textile and simultaneously imposing severe strain to city development and growth, then the City needs to plan creatively for migration. This is particularly a fact as the sentiment was raised by the political head of the City of Johannesburg who is at the helm of city governance.

Also within the Johannesburg context, there is notable perpetual growing labour market rigidity, insecurity, decline in formal jobs, rising unemployment and emerging high levels of informality as informal markets for traders. It is then very critical to probe on how new arriving in-migrants in Johannesburg develop strategies necessary to generate income; integral to this is to document the response of the City of Johannesburg Municipality policy agenda to internal migration-urbanization trends. According to Kok et al (2003), internal migration is informed by both the origin and based destination of a specific migratory move that is in the same country. He clarified this by indicating that the

person who migrates from a particular district is called an out-migrant from that area, and at the same time he or she is an in-migrant into the area of destination Kok et al, (2003).

1.4. Crisis facing cities

South African cities are faced with so many crises and a holistic approach needs to be adopted if they are prepared to contribute to the overall development of citizens in general. Arrays of powerful forces are facing cities, specific and critically for this study is the influence that migration patterns have on the development of cities. Undisputable as it may be, all spheres of government need to understand these forces at play and respond positively to them. Municipalities such as City of Johannesburg need to consider these creatively and holistically by taking into account the influence of demographic, political, infrastructure planning, economic, social and institutional trends.

One of the major trends that have been dominant is the demographic shift that is changing the face of South Africa's population. Remarkable in this regard, is that urban populations are growing rapidly as more and more people, previously prohibited from moving from rural areas by apartheid laws, are migrating to cities perpetually. It is then apparent that the relationship between migration and spatial development planning will definitely influence the country's future and that many cities cannot absorb new entrants in the labour market and this means that high population growth will constitute a major future challenge for cities (Kok et al, 2003).

This has raised general concern that incessant fast urbanization in the post-apartheid period will indeed overwhelm the capacity of cities to accommodate all residents. Migration is seen as the main reason for differences in city growth. Large proportion of South African population is on the move, though, it is difficult to understand embedded dynamics and is difficult to read, but it can be confidently surmised that rural to urban migration is increasing. Rural to urban migrants are getting very younger particularly those between 15-19 years old. Therefore, an understanding and examination of the

permanent in-migrants in urban areas must be balanced by returns to rural areas later in life (South African Cities Network: City Population Trends, 2005).

It can be argued that some cities are seeing as many people moving out as moving in, Johannesburg particularly is the major place of in-migrants and out-migrants (Posel, 2003). One major impetus for this is the continued fast growth of core cities tied with very slow growth in others as people leave these centers. In the new South Africa, people now choose not to be labour migrants but would somewhat migrate to, and inhabit permanently at the places where they work. However, what has transpired on the side, temporary labour migration is also increasing in South Africa. This is mostly boosted by the emancipation of women and the obvious rise in female labour migration (Posel, 2003).

The City of Johannesburg, with a population of 3, 2 million, is the major economic heart of South Africa (Census, 2001). It has experience growth in the 21st century, spurred particularly by the discovery of Gold dating back in 1860. This was a vehicle for the emerging of human mobility in the form of labour migration from around South Africa and across the boarders seeking jobs in the booming mining sector. Today, Johannesburg is the center for capital and human growth, commercial, financial, textile and tourist adventure. The city has reasonable and strong governing city institutions that are democratic and flexible. It is clear that internal migration with other factors are responsible for the city rapid growth, but it is without doubt that this is posing a huge strain to the city existing plans and policy processes.

As part of the reactions to city challenges, Harrison (2004) a commentator for the City of Joburg in charge of the Human Development Agenda; contended that one of the critical objectives of (HDA) was to enable the residents of Johannesburg to enhance their lives and fulfill their potential “so that they can live productive and creative lives” Harrison (2004:23). Human Development Agenda had its mandate to identify vulnerable residents of the City and was tasked to devise mechanisms and interventions to enable residents to live quality lives. On that note, internal migrants were identified as highly

vulnerable as compared to non-migrants. This is mirrored by the fact that internal migrants at times can find themselves in particular areas of the City which are stigmatized and risky; particularly in city areas such as Hillbrow and Yeoville. Peberdy (2004) commented that these areas can lead to social and economic exclusion and even contributes to poverty and persistence unemployment.

Moreover, the City of Johannesburg is starting to recognize that it is a characteristically migrant city (South African Cities Network: City Population Trends, 2005). Today, there has been a shift of not only looking at immigrants but also on in-migrants (internal migration), particularly on why people are perpetually commuting from one area to the next. This has permitted a platform for research that will look on how they deal with life in the host city or a community. Kok et al (2004) postulated that the bulk of the research has been conducted on why migrants leave rural areas to urban areas, but little on how they organize, prepare, survive, network, and organize assets and resources, and access services in urban areas (Kok, et al, 2004). This needs further exploration and carefully investigations and the present study strives to reveal that.

Crush et al, (2005) revealed the challenge of rural urban migration by emphasizing that the entire Southern Africa region is on the move. He indicated that there are longstanding patterns, forms, and impacts of internal and cross-border migration. He noted that these patterns have undergone major restructuring in the last two decades with considerable implications for sound migration management, livelihoods of the poor, human rights observation, and poverty and inequality reduction policies (Crush et al, 2005). He asserted that the increasing rural and urban poverty and unemployment has pushed more people out of households in search of a livelihood. It is for these reasons that migration has been viewed as a progressive survival strategy for thousands of households throughout the region and history has indicated that policy-makers have done little to cater for in-migrants in major cities. There have been rigorous debates and some forms of concrete consensus that policy responses at the local, national, regional and continental scale must take into account the extraordinary and instability of migration forms and patterns in the region (Crush et al, 2005).

The current research may well help to bring an understanding of Johannesburg as a major destination for many people from other South Africans provinces. Studying those coming within South Africa, the researcher believes it is very crucial for the better understanding of us before beginning to interpose on internal immigrants. Also researching on internal migrants helps us to understand changing rural-urban migration patterns particularly looking at the patterns and events after the demise of the apartheid policy. Central to this regard is to unpack the changing patterns of migration looking at the former homelands dynamics and the decline in mining in the Witwatersrand region.

The demise of the Group Areas Act, influx control and other pertaining control measures by the post-apartheid government is part of the impetus for the researcher/student to embark on this research. However, with respect of all the above, necessarily for the study, the research will help to shape the empirical understanding of the urban livelihood strategies pertaining to individual in-migrants. This will shed light on how newcomers in cities deal with urban life in the midst of socio-economic challenges such as poverty, inequality and unemployment.

1.5. Aim of the research

The aim of the research is to investigate and to provide a conceptual insight into the livelihood strategies of newly arriving in-migrants in the City of Johannesburg and to also reflect on the City of Johannesburg's Metropolitan Municipality policy agenda response to internal-migration. Here reference is made to in-migrants from other South African provinces. The research intends to reveal how in-migrants generate income and survive in the midst of the socio-economic challenges such as poverty, inequality, unemployment and other social problems in Johannesburg.

The report intends to look at the response from the City and how the two issues can be used to identify gaps in spatial and infrastructure development planning of the city. Internal migrants have been recorded as constituting a relatively significant unrelenting

part of the population of Gauteng and in Johannesburg, and any development policies for the City need to account strongly for in-migration (Peberdy, et al, 2004).

1.6. Rationale and problem statement

The phenomenon of migration has been discussed and explored by assortment of disciplines for their own theoretical and practical stance and solutions. The audacity need to locate migration within the built environment and planning perspective has taken its stance in development planning profession. Development planning has a critical role to play in shaping the agenda of planning on migratory landscape for big cities such as Johannesburg.

Planning is obliged to be at the forefront to identify migration as a process. Cities were designed to inculcate social cohesion and human solidarity and hence became a realm of growth and diversity. Cities are not only created for employment, but also for continual involvement of different cultures in agglomerations of entrepreneurial talents in small businesses necessary in enhancing livelihoods. This informs a common obligation to development planners to create conducive environment for internal migrants as newcomers in big cities such as Johannesburg to engage in array of income generation activities in finding their foothold in the urban environment.

Migration has been researched extensively in South Africa across quite different issues and disciplines. Much of the scientific research during 1970s and 1980s has put more emphasis on the nature and the implications of the migrant labour system in South Africa (Posel, 2003). Things shifted during 1990s, as research on migration focused more on immigrants (Posel, 2003). However, the twentieth century, migration landscape played an important role in integrating various colonies and countries into a single national labour market. Today, shifts have been noted as more research is focusing on the volumes, timing, process, causes and most importantly for this research is the consequence of migration (Kok, 2004).

It has been observed that there is little that is known and certain about migration trends in South Africa. Research has tended to focus on locally specific issues and this has limited understanding of the social world (Kok, et al, 2003). This is necessary, as governments need to maintain social order and change and do spatial planning in local, national and provincial levels. There is poor understanding of important issues on migration such as the causes of internal migration, the process involved, and to a larger extent the consequences of internal migration (Kok, et al, 2003). Linked to that, is the need to understand how in-migrants pursue livelihood in the new host urban area and the present study seeks to answer that question.

The 1996 and 2001 Census showed that a quarter (25%) of all in-migrants to Gauteng are from Limpopo and about one-eight (13%) from the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga (Statistics South Africa, Census 2001). These are provinces that are trapped in absolute poverty and one of the major reasons for people to migrate is poverty as they seek to explore and negotiate creative livelihoods in Johannesburg. The study will then look at how they use the available material, assets, networks and social resources at their disposal to make a means of living in Johannesburg.

The study assumes that many in-migrants in the City of Johannesburg are suffering, surviving and others are flourishing. The project discourse seeks to look at some of these scenarios, particularly on how they participate in the mainstream economy to generate income. This will be executed by listening and documenting their stories and experiences. Human Development Strategy and Growth and Development Strategy as two gigantic Joburg long-terms policy agendas; reflect little about internal migration and yet migration is the key feature of the City and has been an issue since its earliest years (City of Johannesburg, 2003).

1.7. Research question

The proposed study will flow from the following question:

What are the livelihood strategies with respect to income generation of in-migrants from other South African provinces when they first arrive in Johannesburg and what is the documented response of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality policy agenda to internal migration?

1.8. Methodological question

The present study engages qualitative research approach informed by research techniques such as interviews, in-depth interviews and observations. The core of the study is about how individual in-migrants generate income when they first arrive in Johannesburg, in the midst of socio-economic challenges confronting the City. Coupled with this, is to reflect on the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality documented response in their strategic policy agenda plans to internal migration.

Interviews were opted based on the assumption that in-migrants will provide a great deal of information on their lived experiences and perceptions. This is based on their social, economic, institutional and political experiences in the post-apartheid City of Johannesburg and how they feel about their various livelihood strategies. Face-to face interviews were adopted in order to access, observe and experience as many facets of the individual in-migrants as possible (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1981:103). Face-to-face interviews have historical a high response rate and it further allows for follow-up questions and responses to be clarified and explained further.

The research approach included in-depth interviews that were carried out with individual in-migrants coming from the Eastern Cape Province and who are currently residing in Yeoville. Interviews conducted for the light they can shed on issues of in-migration, income generation/livelihoods, and all other means of surviving, reason for coming to Johannesburg and other pertinent range of issues. Interviews were conducted by one student for three days, Saturday/ 26 August 2006 from 10am to 3pm; Sunday/27 August 2006 11am to 3pm; and Monday/28 August 2006 5pm to 7:30 pm. These days were

chosen with the assumption and hope that most people are available during weekends and it is easily to get them in their flats and houses. *(Interview Questionnaire attached at the back of the report)*

Schwandt (1997:140) postulated that there are two critical sampling issues in qualitative studies. These include; selecting a field site in which to study some phenomenon and sampling within the case or field site (Schwandt, 1997). The field site for the research is Yeoville residential area of Johannesburg and it engaged the researcher going and knocking in the flats and houses randomly looking for in-migrants coming from the Eastern Cape. Schwandt caution that the fieldworker does not study a place or site, but investigate the phenomenon in question within a place or site. Twelve respondents were interviewed, with eight females and four males all of them coming from the Eastern Cape Province.

The bulk of what was gathered in the literature review period prior to fieldwork was handful in gaining understanding of the issues in the ground. The period assisted one to become vigilant about the tendency of asking concepts in questions without necessarily understanding them. The conceptual framework was prominent in this regard as it indicated that people with social networks and strong contacts are likely not to struggle in the new terrain of urban terrain. The concept of livelihood and networks dealt with in the literature section form a critical direction for the questions that were asked to internal migrants from the Eastern Cape. Both chapters, on Internal Migration and Livelihood and Networks showed at the end that they are not written in a vacuum, but acted as impetuses for the research journey.

1.9. The Structure of the Discourse

Chapter 2 is the theoretical component that sets the agenda of migratory landscape within South African context and abroad. This section examines the genesis and perpetuation of internal and international migration in South Africa. It engages a multifaceted view that brings richness to the debate of migration with different positions brought into the picture which attempts to build on the understanding of the major

motives for migration. Migration in this chapter was approached from a developmental planning perspective instilling an obligation that planning has in shaping migration trends. It espouses and gives multiple debates covering the past and the looming theoretical structure of migration, theories of migration, international migration and local government.

Chapter 3 is the conceptual framework linked to chapter 2, about the livelihood approach and networks. It brings the debate and engages with livelihood literature and frameworks, individuals, economic and most critically, social networks. It therefore, explores how internal migrants strive to survive when they find themselves in the urban environment that happens to be unpredictable.

Chapter 4 is the account of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan scale plans such as Human Development Strategy and the Growth and Development Strategy. This is aimed at drawing perspectives that support the research question hence the research documented the response of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. This chapter is specially included as a form of synergy providing a picture of the interaction between the three parts of this research i.e. internal migration, livelihood strategies and the response of the City of Johannesburg policy agenda.

Chapter 5 is the methodological framework that actually informed the research. It gives an overview of all the steps that were adopted in gathering information and data analysis.

Chapter 6 and 7 discusses the findings of the research starting by discussing emerging themes following by major findings and the summary. Chapter 6 also engages the documented response of the City of Johannesburg by looking at both Growth and Development Strategy and the Human Development Strategy strategic plans of the City of Johannesburg and this is tied by the analysis of each plan and its relevance. The last chapter focuses on the implications of this research to planning and what planning needs to do to understand migratory and urbanization patterns.

Chapter 3: The genesis and perpetuation of internal and international migration in South Africa

2.1. Literature Review

2. 2. Introduction

This chapter provides theoretical component that set the agenda of migratory landscape within South Africa and abroad. This section examines the genesis and perpetuation of internal and international migration in South Africa. It specifically provides a little account of the Eastern Cape migration patterns. Migration as it relates to local government and other planning areas will be discussed. Most importantly, this section will give a description of theory of migration. It will attempt to engage with multifaceted views that bring richness to the debate of migration with different positions brought into the picture as it attempts to build on the understanding of the major issues in migration. Migration in this chapter was approached from a developmental planning perspective instilling an obligation that planning has in shaping migration trends.

2.3. Migration

Migration is a phenomenon process that involves a move from one place to the other, encompassing a move from the origin to a destination. Migration can occur in the same country and in different countries (Kok, et al 2003).

Consensus has been reached in worldwide literature landscape that the majority of the world's population lives in the Third World cities. The World Bank estimated back in the 1960s that almost 26% of the population lived in urban areas. This increased in 1980 with out of 1, 8 billion urban residents; an estimated 61% of the people lived in cities (Mascie-Taylor & Lasker, 1998).

Locating this to planning landscape, it is important to indicate the following:
"large populations, dense populations and high rates of in-migration are the most important characteristics of cities today. These characteristics lead to several types of

problems for humans. These include the technological problems of water supply, pollution and waste management, socio-economic problems of poverty, unemployment and social conflict and biological problems of disease and ill health". (Mascie- Taylor & Lasker, 1998: 94).

Kok, et al (2003), argued that migration is a complex element of the empirical study of population dynamics. Kok, et al (2003) indicated that it is strenuous to define migration and be in a position to distinguish it from other forms of spatial mobility.

2. 3. 1. Internal migration

Migration phenomenon entails origin and destination of a specific migration move in the same country. A person who migrates from a particular district is called out-migrants in that district. A person who arrives at a particular destination whether in a metropolitan or a district is called in-migrants in that area, but at the same time when he/she leaves the area they are considered to as out-migrant of the area (Kok, et al 2003). For the purpose and specifics of this study, internal migrants are referred as people who have migrated from elsewhere in the country to Johannesburg. Gauteng shows the highest increase of all provinces in internal migration between 1996 and 2001, and this is likely to be true of Johannesburg, the major metropolitan attraction in the Province (Peberdy, Crush & Msibi, 2004).

2. 3. 2. Migration in Gauteng

Gauteng is the strongest economic province in South Africa with three metropolitan municipalities, capital city, national government departments, major logistic and freight hub, major connecting roads, critical international airport, major head offices, strong industrial, commercial and a financial capital. Census 2001 indicated that the province was populated by 8, 8 million (19.7% of the country's population). The province is experiencing fast population growth as people across the border and in other South African provinces regard it as "place to be". Gauteng is divided into three metropolitan municipalities; .i.e., Ekurhuleni, Johannesburg and Tshwane and three district Councils; Metsweding, Sedibeng and West Rand. The extent of internal migration in the province

is highly rapid due to the fact people from other provinces are searching for economic incentives and sustainable livelihoods (Oosthuizen & Naidoo. 2004). Between 1996 and 2001 Gauteng showed the greatest increase in internal migration (5% or over 430,000 people) of all provinces (Peberdy, Crush & Msibi, 2004).

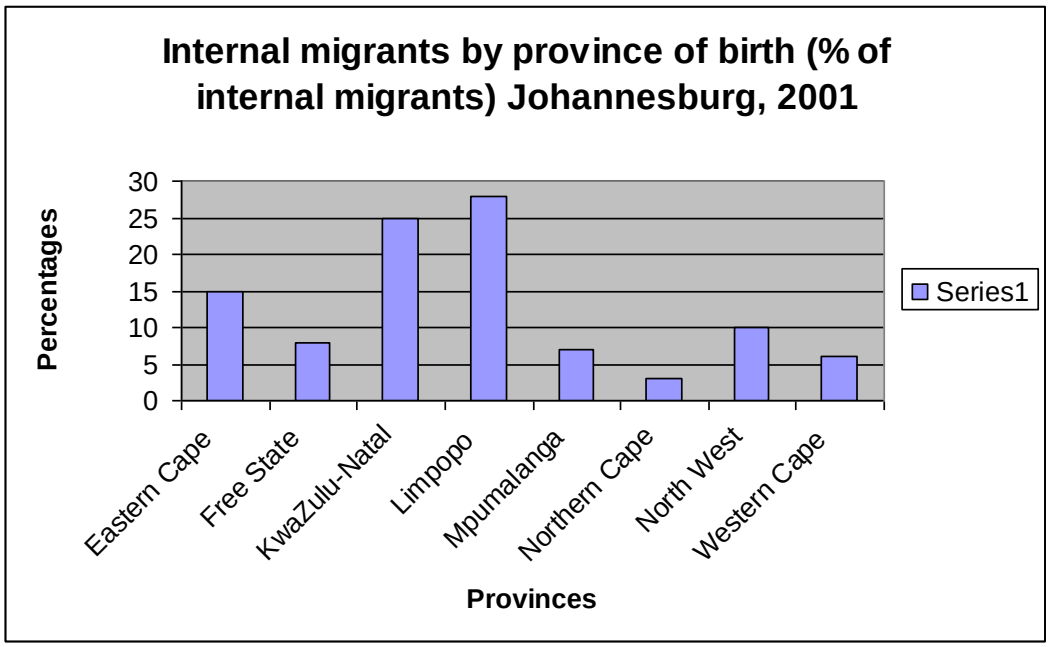
2.3.3. Migration in the City of Johannesburg

Internal migrants have been seen as comprising a relatively significant and sustained part of the population of Gauteng. Johannesburg particularly is the major destination for both cross-border migrants and in-migrants from other South African provinces. This obliges the city to create a platform for development policies to account strongly for internal migrants and cross-border migrants (Peberdy, Crush & Msibi, 2004).

Internal migration refers to population mobility within the borders of a nation state. It can take different forms, including rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-urban, and urban-rural and can be permanent or temporary, seasonal or circulatory. It occurs for different reasons including but limited to labour migration, marriage, and tourism and comprises diverse groups and individuals (Waddington, 2003).

For the purpose of this study, internal migrants are people migrating from other South African provinces to the City of Johannesburg; the focus will be on livelihood strategies they used when they first time arrived. For the purpose of the study, internal migrants from Eastern Cape were opted, for the purpose of providing direction to the study. Most importantly, due to time constraints the study could not focus on all provinces. Below is the percentage of internal migrants from the whole of South Africa who were in the City of Johannesburg in 2001.

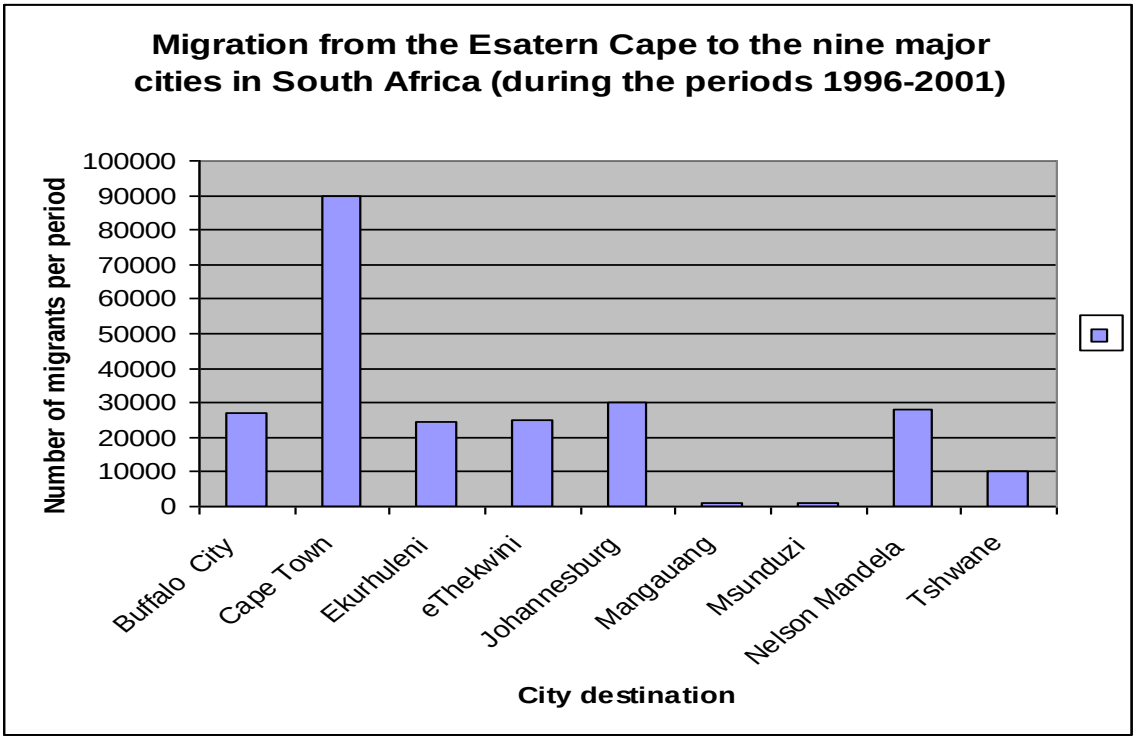
Graph1: Internal Migrants by Province of Birth in Johannesburg 2001



Source: Census 2001, SSA, 2004

The graph above indicates clearly that rural-urban migration is an ongoing phenomenon that presumably will eventually find a stance as a priority agenda in city development strategies of big cities such as Johannesburg. Indications from this graph place Limpopo as the largest province with out-migrants followed by KwaZulu-Natal and then Eastern Cape. This tells how perpetual internal migration is in big cities. Eastern Cape is one of the provinces characterized by poor infrastructure that translates into lack of opportunities and poverty. Respondents that were interviewed also raised this perpetually.

Graph 2: Migration from Eastern Cape to the Nine Major Cities in South Africa 1996 – 2001



Source: Kok and Aliber, 2005

Graph 2 shows that almost about two-fifths (40%) of approximately of 200-000 city-ward migrants from the Eastern Cape ended up in Cape Town. The graph clearly shows that Eastern Cape residents are more likely to migrate to Cape Town. Residents are not migrating highly to nearest Buffalo City and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan. Migrating to Cape Town may be attributable to two main factors. Firstly, most of the previous generations of people in Eastern Cape were working in Cape Town mostly as domestic workers. Secondly, language networks, since Xhosa is the popular language in Cape Town and Eastern Cape Province is dominated by Xhosa speaking and they have developed older relations and networks with people in Cape Town.

On the other hand, Johannesburg has also become their destination as the graph shows that Johannesburg follows Cape Town as the next highest city receiving migrants from Eastern Cape. This also reveals that there is a high level of out-migration in the Eastern Cape. In addition to this is, involuntarily reflected is the common perception and to a further extent the reality that Eastern Cape is one of the poorest provinces in South

Africa particularly the parts that were in the past designated as homeland areas of Transkei and Ciskei.

2.4. Related studies

A study by Cornell and Inder (2003) titled “Migration and Unemployment” in South Africa: When motivation surpasses the theory”, deals specifically with the association between internal migration and unemployment in South Africa. They examined whether rural-urban migrants are more likely to be unemployed or in informal sector employment or underemployed than non-migrants. They discovered that internal migrants as compared with non-migrants in Johannesburg, i.e. recent arriving migrants were more likely to find formal employment. This tells the complexity of the nature of internal migrants Joburg receives from other provinces. People from other provinces might get jobs because they got skills and proper education. Others may find formal jobs based on other means such as networks from close friends, family/kin and also from people from outside South Africa. These findings refutes the assumptions of the present study as the assumptions was made that new internal migrants may struggle to settle and find jobs or generate income in the new urban territory.

Another relevant study by Oosthuizen and Naidoo (2004), titled “ Internal Migrants to the Gauteng Province” offers crucial impetus for the present study as it unpacks on the situation of in-migrants in the face of new destination access to public services and infrastructure in comparison with non-migrants in Gauteng. The study concluded by demonstrating that in-migrants are more likely to cause huge challenges specifically to areas of health, housing and infrastructure system. This acts as impetus to city policy-makers to go beyond the duty to understand the impact of internal migrants and their livelihoods. The present study is linked to this particularly on internal migrants’ situation in Gauteng. But the present study however focuses only on urban livelihood strategies of internal migrants and the documented response of the City of Johannesburg.

Peberdy, Crush and Msibi (2004), studied migrants in the City of Johannesburg, and produced a report for the City of Johannesburg. The study looked at the situation of migrants in Johannesburg, both internal migrants and cross-border migrants. The study revealed that migrants, both internal and cross-border are very active in Non-Government Organization and Community Based Organizations. This concurred precisely with Census 2001 indication that between 10-15% of internal and cross border migrants are employed in the community service sector (Statistics South Africa, 2001). Most importantly, Peberdy and Msibi (2004) "asserted that the challenge for the City of Johannesburg is to identify vulnerable migrants and to ensure that services reach migrant populations and most critically to account for their needs (Peberdy and Msibi, 2004).

This is the study that served as a yardstick for the present study particularly on understanding the phenomenon of migration and how it impacts on big cities development trajectory. The present study indicates and reassures that it is not operating in a vacuum as it is supported by several empirical studies.

2. 5. Genesis of internal migration

In the modern industrial and post-industrial nations only just one half of the population has lived at the same address between two subsequent censuses (Kubat, 1976). Human history is an account of migration of people all in search of a place to stay and work (Kubat, 1976:11). Is this the case even today? In South Africa, people are migrating to big cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban primarily seeking employment activities in order to sustain livelihoods.

Gelderblom and Kok (1994) expressed the view that during 1800s most of people in South Africa were so engulfed in subsistence agriculture, with little probability of urban settlements particularly to the four harbour towns, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban. They indicated that South Africa became evolutionally integrated into the global economy. This acted as an impetus for South Africa to become a modern capitalist economy with increasing gross economic activities. Particularly with the

discovery of gold in Witwatersrand, this pushed various and diverse population groups to move to the cities in search for better livelihoods. This was further perpetuated by the decline in agricultural sector in the nineteenth century where we witnessed many Afrikaners moving to the towns (Gelderblom and Kok 1994).

An increase in the urban population was seen by Mears (1995) as a result of the natural population growth. The tendency in South Africa has been to ascribe urban growth to rural-urban migration. According to estimates of the World Bank, rural-urban migration accounts for only one quarter of one third of the increase in the urban populations of the most developing economies. This insight from the World Bank assumes such a phenomenon, but reflects little on how such a population increase can manage and organize resources and assets in their new host destinations, particularly on how they chase livelihoods.

Governments in many developing economies are very silent, but in reality they are faced with a multitude of population problems and tasks in dealing with the surplus of people arriving everyday to primate cities (Mears, 1995). Highly distressing is that most of in-migrants are illiterate, not educated, unskilled, and with no previous work experience and non-existence of social, economic and political networks in the new area. These kind of people need to be integrated into the web of social and economic circles of networks and government need to account for their existence and their presence.

Mears (1995) argues that there is no generally accepted definition of a migrant or of migration. He went further to postulate that migrants are inevitable and comprise of four critical elements, which are highly indispensably and inseparably, including space, residence, time and activity change (Mears, 1995).

Mears (1995) averred that urbanization is the cornerstone of the socio-economic challenges currently faced by South Africa. Preceding that, most of the urbanization in South Africa is inevitable related to the emergence of the gold-mining industry in

Witwatersrand. In the past, workers particularly males from around South Africa were promptly engaged in the gold-mining industry in efforts to work for their families and raise their children. Their moves were masked in an engulfed pernicious apartheid laws and regulations. They were only allowed to enter former Transvaal with specific permits and arrangements. The situation was even shoddier for those workers from former Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) areas.

As Mears (1995) noted that the emergence of a high profit margins of the gold mines after 1932 formed the impetus for the incessant growing imbalance between town and country, as well as between the gold mining related industries and other branches of industry (Mears, 1995). It is highly irrefutably that mining in South Africa was driven by the capitalist oriented economy that set winners and losers. Black miners were never given opportunities to learn crucial elements in mining; they were only used for labour. Mine owners on the other hand, benefited huge financial and material benefits investment and this is one area that mirrors today's economic imbalances (Mears, 1995).

Kok et al (2003), asserts that internal migration is a very poorly researched topic in South Africa. South Africa according to Kok (2003), is not an exception to this problem, many other developing economies lack empirical data in this area as much as South Africa lacks. Kok (2003) attributed this lack of research to the dismal absence of appropriate census data and retaliated and dismissed any label masked in a perception that internal migration is non-important. He hinted that the process of analyzing migration trends in South Africa have been weakened by the unavailability of comprehensive and detailed data on human movement. He indicated that indeed South Africa has dismally lacked data on internal migration and this problem has been minimized to a larger extent after the available vibrant Census 1996 (Kok, et al, 2003).

Censuses that were conducted in 1975 to 1980 have provided some data, but the problem is that they were very biased as they intentionally excluded the former TBVC homeland areas. Census 1996 was then a revelation, as it provided options and

baseline platforms for migration research, with multitude of questions that covered people last move, the entire population of South Africa. In a nutshell, census 1996 provided the first empirical population data that will indeed incessantly act as a source of reference for population data on South Africa's internal migration research trajectory (Kok, et al, 2003). Even today, migration analysis in South Africa is still marked by indefinite elements. He argued that trends are yet not very clear and it is still not feasible to embark on a comprehensive profile of the total population (Kok, et al, 2003).

Standings (1984) become a critical prominent writer on migration; he was at the forefront of the lively and thorny debates on the concept of migration. This concept has produced intensive scholarly debates hence its definition is so complex. Standing reflected that internal migration is solely attached to the social changes embodied in the movement of people from rural to urban areas. South Africans are presumably engaging in such movement as a form of exercising the lost and denied freedom.

They move to fulfill freedom of movements that were denied in the past, hence now seeking opportunities for growth and development. This is particularly true for people from TBVC former homelands that were not part of South Africa during the apartheid era. This is also associated with labour migration; hence workers were migrating from home to work in big cities in search for a living to support themselves and their household back home. Kok (2003) retailed that it is very useful to emerge from a planning perspective in order to show the relative importance of rural-urban migration and labour migration in setting the development trajectory and governance in primate cities (Kok, 2003).

It was indeed reported that migratory issues are least know in South Africa particularly at an aggregate national level. Kok (2003) retailed that that census 1996 cannot alone stand to cover the whole country and he pointed out that this will hinder robustly our understanding of migration in South Africa. Peculiar in this regard is that little is known about the process and causes of internal migration and, to a larger extent its consequences (Kok, 2003).

Miller and Singh (1994:72-74) cited in Beal, et al (2003) argued that one of the major features of urban growth centers in Africa, particularly sub-Saharan Africa is high levels of internal migration. Beal et al, (2003), remained vigilant that in-migration in Johannesburg has remained a major feature and is contributing enormously to population growth. Beal, et al, (2003) in the context of the study, perceived in-migrants as anyone who was born outside the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Area and is living there now. Beal, et al, (2003), notes that the population census do not provide information that can be used directly to establish the extent and patterns of migration to Johannesburg. However, they do provide data on the long-term trends in the size of the city's population (Beal, et al, 2003).

The available census data for Gauteng province suggests that the biggest increase in in-migration between 1996 and 2001 was likely to be internal migrants, or for the purpose of this study, South Africans moving to the City of Joburg from other parts of South Africa. Of all provinces in South Africa, Gauteng has the highest proportion of its 8, 8 million populations born in other provinces and born outside the country (Statistics South Africa, 2003).

A study by Oosthuizen and Naidoo (2004) revealed that a large proportion of Gauteng residents were actually born outside Gauteng or have moved into the province during inter-census period. The study further found that although in-migration comprises approximately half of the population with post-matric qualifications in the Gauteng, they are in overall less educated than the rest of the Gauteng population and it was also found that they are often engaged in less prestige occupations and sectors.

This is highly contestable in the sense that a number of in-migrants with post-matric qualification often find it difficult to find suitable jobs immediately and they are likely to accept any job at stake. Hence most of the time they are desperate and their engagement in lower skilled occupation does not indicate less education. The study concluded that high levels of in-migrants are likely to continue for at least in the

medium-term and they will pose crucial challenges specifically in the sectors of health, housing and infrastructure provision (Oosthuizen and Naidoo, 2004).

This then informs further areas of research on the impact on in-migrants on public service delivery particularly in big cities such as Johannesburg. The study is also used to align the much needed further research, as it strives to investigate and provide insight on to the survival strategies of in-migrants and to examine the documented response from the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan. This is necessary in covering views and processes in place from the City's plans and perspective in responding to priority issues related to internal migrants' livelihoods.

2.6. International migration

The wake of political liberalization after 1994 general elections in South Africa gave impetus for open debates about the African countries relationship particularly as it relates to cross-country migration. This was witnessed before 1994, as in 1990s major flow of labour migrants from other Southern Africa regions increased day by day.

This has compelled active institutes across the African continent to a continental dialogue reacting to incessant deterioration in the economies of many neighbouring states. In response, governments, research institutions, labour organisations and business groupings are engaging to weigh the costs and benefits of labour migration, and to formulate context appropriate policy responses. Inevitable, but manageable, such engagements and dialogues are occurring under the umbrella of politically-charged atmosphere characterized by growing hostility towards foreigners within South Africa. (Peek, 1990)

International migration has mirrored South Africa particularly Gauteng, which has its long unique history among other South African provinces. This can be dated back in the earliest times, where the flow of migrants has been part of the South Africans industrialization process and the discovery of gold mining at the Witwatersrand region. Oosthuizen and Peberdy (2004) expressed the view that in today's economic

landscape, it is inevitable that international migration is playing a pivotal role in all echelons of the South African economy.

The first democratic general elections in South Africa after 1994 marked the impetus for the flow and arrival of migrants from the African continent and this also includes larger numbers from the SADC region and also others from Europe and Asia. Johannesburg particularly has been a host destination for many immigrants from these countries and it is indeed traditional that migration is highly institutionalized and regulated in South Africa. This was the case with the labour migration that was so engulfed by highly informed formalized and regulated contract labour system for the South African mines. Testimony to this is that during the twentieth century at least 40 percent of mine workforces were non-South Africans and this figure increased in the early 1970s at over 80 % and by the late 1990 almost 60% of mine workforce was of foreign origin (Crush, 2000).

There has been a progressive paradigm shift in migration patterns trends and patterns dating back from 1980s. We witnessed a trend changing from traditionally long established migration labour system to a more complex and broader flow of diverse people. Particular in this regard were skilled professionals (in the form of teachers, doctors, lawyers, nurses, engineers and university professors). They migrated to South Africa to embark on very challenging jobs. This is also helpful for South Africa as the country on international benchmarks is still lagging behind in mathematics and science, so those engineers hopefully have and will continue to serve South Africa (Adepoju, 2003).

Crush (2001) asserted that the liberalization of South Africa also predisposed and led to the feminization of international migration in South Africa. He surmised that huge number of women has taken up cross-boarder trade, investment and employment as a source of livelihood. He expressed the view that although the gigantic number of these women is engaged in trading and vending, some are also skilled professionals. (Crush, 2001).

One of the crucial impetuses for international migration to Gauteng is that the province has a long history of viable mining and construction sectors. These sectors were the pillars that catered particularly for those that were unskilled, semi-killed and migrants particularly in Gauteng. Gauteng is still at the forefront of employing both skilled and unskilled. This is also applicable in the most advocated route of small contractors using labour-intensive methods and this is the area where the unskilled and semi-skilled migrants can perpetually generate income and uphold their livelihoods.

Movement of people between nation-states has been a constant feature of human history. This is particularly true in Europe where the pace of migration has been so rapid and it has changed the face of Europe by bringing challenges and opportunities (Spencer, 2003). Spencer (2003) indicated that migrants migrate to Europe from different countries and in doing so bring diverse skills, values and experiences creating a multicultural society that very few envisaged when the first postwar migrants were motivated to try their luck in labour hungry local economies. Spencer (2003) averred that the global experience of migration may be long-standing, but very few countries manage migration accurately (Spencer, 2003).

This propelled Randam Hansel (2003) cited in Spencer (2003) to express the view that global migration is a history of unforeseen developments and unintended consequences. Papadimitriou (2003) retaliated by illuminating that states are failing to handle or manage migration for three pivotal reasons: First, the speed and depth of change which migration challenge our sense of identity and continuity. Second, managing migration requires difficult political and policy tradeoffs that have uneven distributional consequences. Third, migration inevitable exposes weaknesses in a nation's governance arrangements, particularly in government ability to enforce the law, which debilitates the public's confidence in its capacity to govern in their interests (Spencer, 2003).

The situation in developing countries has been that of heterogeneous societies as compared to highly homogenous developed societies. The accomplishment of independence tied immediately by pernicious apartheid law have indeed produced uneven result for different societies and some earlier and today social and economic tensions have been noted. It has commonly emerged that migration in most developing economies has culminated in non-fruitful effects as compared to top developed economies that were reported to have gained economically from urbanization phenomenon (Mears, 1995).

The global thinking on migration is now resurrecting widely, as in Europe, many states are now facing the reality that migration is at differing levels and in differing forms, a permanent part of our lives and future. The calls that have been made among European states are that of meeting the challenge of migration and strive for optimal management and not denial (Spencer, 2001). This was reinforced by the UK Home Secretary as he put it in the White Paper that migration is an inevitable reality of the modern world and it brings significant benefits. The White Paper further stipulates that in order to ensure that we sustain the positive contribution of migration to our social well-being and economic prosperity; we need to manage it properly and establish strong foundations on which integration with diversity can be accomplished (Spencer, 2003).

Spencer (2003) strongly asserts that governments need not be very unambiguous in setting their objectives. Spencer asserts that governments need to concede that managing migration is not simply about accomplishing labour market objectives, protecting national security, public expenditure, honoring human rights obligations, promoting social cohesion, endorsing international development and cooperation. Spencer then retaliated that governments need to understand these and then acknowledge that these entire goals can conflict at any point (Spencer, 2003).

The problem that has been so incessant in UK and in other European countries is that the debate on migration has been so polarized between those unwilling to recognize that migration brings benefits and those that are unwilling to concede that migration

brings cost. What has dominated this debate is the perception that there has been little political space for debate on the real choices facing policy-makers and the decisions they consider. The situation is that governments are very reluctant to lead a very open dialogue on migration options and this has been attributed to the fear of provoking public hostility. Issues that are facing migrants in many countries range from the little support that they received on arrival, host nations are expecting migrants to break down the language and institutional obstacles.

This is coupled by the expectation that new migrants will engage with their neighbors and contribute to society beyond their role as workers and taxpayers without experiencing the mammoth new era transition. The situation creates a common obligation among the host nations to perceive migrants a permanent part of their future and they need to move beyond seeing them as an unwelcome imposition imposed. Governments need to recognize a share responsibility for building and negotiating a positive future together in designing specific projects relevant to specific contexts.

During the sunup of the twenty-first century, international migration touched many lives of people and emerged largely in the politics and economies of many states than any other time in the contemporary epoch. The epoch recorded estimated 160 million people to be living outside their country of birth; this proves that there is no country not associated with international migration at any point in time. Papadimetriou (2003) affirmed that this reality single-handedly warrants migration a place as a top agenda item in national and international debates for the foreseeable future (Papademetriou, 2003).

It is notably that wars and massive disasters, whether natural or man-made, have without doubt predisposed migration as people flee for their lives. Beyond them, the roots of international migration can be found in the chase to protect oneself and one's family from sustained physical peril. This is tied by the escape of pretentious collapse in social and economic opportunities. The political, social and cultural intolerance and at a bulk level, the group-based violations of human rights are attached to major impetus of

international migration. Again, the intended failure of governments to redress issues of cumulative disadvantage; in the form of gross forms of economic exclusion and ethno-racial, religious or linguistic discrimination that systematically inconvenienced certain groups of the population. These are two major elements that are likely to remain central in the next two decades in migration trajectory (Papademetriou, 2003).

Kleinman (2003) indicated that migration is a fact that has social, economic, political and other forms of negative upshot that might reverse economic gains. But he retaliated that migration in the long run has a range of economic impacts that can enhance the welfare or the status of migrants and the host nation or city. He indicated that migration has benefits such as: increase employment rate and wages of the native workers, employment rate and wages of immigrants, productivity and the growth rate of the economy, entrepreneurialism and innovation and the fiscal balance of government. Kleinman (2003) vindicated that economic benefits are also higher if migrant workers are complements and not substitutes to the existing workforce and particularly when migrants possess different and scarce skills that might boost the economy (Kleinman, 2003).

In the nineteenth century, international migration played a critical role in the process of revitalizing economic growth in many countries that nearly suffered from economic collapse. Leading to the Second World War, it was highly relatively easy for people to change their country of birth. New communities overseas with large land and rich natural resources needed more people. This was particularly the fact in Europe as it is much densely populated, was only too ready to export its surplus. Over a century, between 1820 and 1925, the United States received 36 million aliens, of whom about 70% stayed there permanently and nine of ten of these came from Europe. It was estimated that between 1846 and 1924 no less than 50 million migrants moved into the continent of North and South America from the rest of the world. After that great reallocation, one-eleventh of the population of the earth was people originating in Europe living outside of that continent (Thomas, 1961).

2.7. Theories of migration

There has been consistent relationship between massive labour migrants of modern history and the geographical mobility of capital. The incessant unequal distribution of capital investment globally has indeed culminated in persistent unequal development between rural and urban areas. Arizpe (1981) submitted that rural-urban migration in developing countries can be considered as the geographical counterpart of the generalized exchange of labour and resources between peasants and the industrial sectors.

This was seemed as contributed urban growth in industries and neglecting of rural areas. Arizpe (1981) stressed that in analyzing rural and urban movements, abundance of attention was put on economic and social factors that drive peasants to leave rural areas. He said very few efforts were made to understand reactions of peasants to such pressures; that is their livelihood strategies to defeat constant poverty and deprivation in cities (Balan, 1981).

Migration theory can be traced back to Ernest-George Ravenstein" The Laws of Migration", that was published during the latter half of the 19th century (1885-89). This made him to be an undisputable father of modern thinking about migration (Arango, 2000, in Kok et al, 2003). Another seminal work published in the early 20th century, which Arango, (2000) commended highly as the most impressive book ever written on the subject of migration, conducted by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, entitled "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1918-20).

Economic factors have been singled out as the most important root and fundamental cause of migration. Much has been debated about the root causes of migration and certain level of strong consensus have been reached on economic impetus. Economic theories that were pioneered by Massey et al (1993) will be discussed only for the purpose of integrating the above discussion of social network, income generation with some highlight on the causes of migration.

2.7.1 Dual Economy Model

Dual economic model evolves from the concept of dual economy consisting of subsistence, agricultural characterized by underemployment and a modern industrial sector characterized by full employment (Obera, 1978:38). Locating migration in this particular model involves the transfer of labour from surplus sector to a deficit sector with the expected wages in the industrial sector. Internal migrants find themselves working as cheap labourers in rural farms earning low wages. This model explains the transition from being underemployed to being employed on full-time basis with structured incentives.

2.7.2. Ravenstein's Law of Migration

The model of Ravenstein assumes that people migrate from areas characterized by lack of opportunities for growth to areas recognized for robust and plenty of opportunities. He recognized that migration is not only a one way wave by uttering that migration might not be necessarily permanent. He argued that people become involved in the process of "return migration "going back to their respective place of origin (Ravenstein in Oberia, 1987).

2.7.3. Neo-classical economics

This theory asserts that both internal and international migration is the products of geographic differences in labour supply and demand and wage differentials. It assumes that eradication of wage differences will lead to cease movement of labour. This theory put forward this assumption by consolidating that migration will end in the absence of wage differentials. It assumes that individual actors presume and estimate the cost and benefits of deciding to locate to a particular destination and usually opt for an area that will salve benefits (Massey et al., 1993). This theory seems to operate at individual levels, ignoring the many societal and background factors on individuals.

On the issue of wage differentials that it advocates to come to an end to cease migration, people from the same location or area might differ in skills, abilities, thinking and other aspects of creative living. Others might have skills and experiences in

particular and others not have any of those. Then the issues of wage differentials will always dictates those that deserve better salary than others hence others have and others have not. Wage differences is a matter of fact, it is going to persist and will not stop migration as the theory purports.

2.7.4. New economics of migration

This theory is based on the assumption that migration decision making is based on the household as opposed to individuals. This theory sees migration as a powerful livelihood strategy in order to mitigate economic risks that the household may sustain by allowing its members to migrate. The household takes a decision based on risk minimization to avoid economic crisis within a household. A household can then plan and control economic risk by allocating and deploying members to different destinations to work on different labour categories. Other households may diversify its members even to foreign work in order to strengthen its economic basis and gain more on remittances. Hence labour in industry economy, services and commerce pay higher.

This theory holds the notion that wage differentials are not necessary conditions for migration to take place, hence is based on the assumption that households may have incentives to diversify risks through migration even in the absence of wage differentials. This theory stretches to allude on relative income, assuming that migration will only occur as an impetus to increase absolute income, but imperatively to increase household's income relative to other households in the community (Massey, et al, 1993).

2. 8. Migration and research

Migration research is still masked by so many methodological barriers despite critical progress that has been made in recent decades. Predominant in this regard, is the context in defining migration and drawing a distinction between migration and urbanization. This has been particularly posed by the fact that there is no universal definition of migration acceptable and this has created more crises than fruitful gains or prospects (Kok & Aliber, 2005).

Methodological problems that have been identified in research points to on coding of previous areas of residence and this is tied to the need to deal with unreliable migration data that is usually caused by fear of persecution. This is relevant among many respondents to research on migration as this is instigated by the xenophobic attitude and stereotypes and is also compounded by the past racist utterances in South Africa.

Crush (2000) argued that the history of migration in Southern Africa has been identified as one of the researched and well-documented field. Most principally, movements of people between urban and rural areas had become embedded in the economic system tied to a sequence of state interventions to marshal and control labour and measures that made it impossible for people to migrate. Posel (2003) asserted that most migrants historically in South Africa were men.

Posel (2003) ponders that one of the questions that has prevailed in recent research on internal migration in South Africa focuses particularly on where people are settling and why. The question had been posed on whether the settlement patterns have changed and normalized during 1990s and whether people have migrated from rural areas and settled in places with economic opportunities and in urban areas. These are some of the questions that are embedded in the internal migration research paradigm (Posel, 2003).

The study of migration has changed and grown over the last three decades. Dating back from 1950s, research on migration has been evolving on what was conceived as disconnected vignettes (Balan, 1981). Practitioners from different fields started holding different views in understanding migration. Demographers and statistician made efforts of available limited census data in order to estimate the volume of migration between major administrative units and between rural and urban localities. Anthropologists take a stance by observing contrasting tendencies among various agricultural groups as to spatial mobility (Balan, 1981).

They strive to relate some of these patterns to the nature of marriage, kinship, religion and other cultural factors. Sociologists were more concerned with the negative aspects of urbanization; they focused their research on migrants in cities aligned with the tradition of the sociology “urban problems”. Geographers were highly interested in human settlement and mobility. Most important, policy-makers and planners were not interested in these vignettes (Balan, 1981). They were concerned with rapid urbanization and the role of internal migrations. This perpetuated to 1960s as a response to a growing interest among policy-makers and planners in population growth, particularly urbanization (Balan, 1981).

2. 9. Migration and local government

In an era of migration and incessant social fragmentation, livelihood strategies of in-migrants need to be covered and be considered in host city’s planning trajectory. They must be catered in those efforts envisaged in overcoming divisions by enhancing a sense of a shared future and common rules of economic and social engagements (Landau, 2005). Stoker (2003) cited in Landau (2005) pondered that local governments are negotiating their conventional responsibilities for service delivery with emphasis on private-public partnerships and popular participation (Landau, 2005).

Landau (2005) went further to illuminate that fostering mutual beneficial interactions among all urbanities whether within public institutions or on city streets can indeed transform the cities in what Logan and Molotch (1987) term growth machines: agglutinations of private and public initiatives and institutions that enhance economic gains and their equitable distribution. This underpins economic development of any city in the world and is the cornerstone of a constitutional and open democracy based on non-sexism, non-originalism and non-nationalism. (Landau, 2005).

In South Africa, development local government through delivery mechanism is well entrenched through highly thoughtful strategic documents particularly the Integrated Growth and Development Strategies, Integrated Development Planning (IDP) and Local Economic Development (LED). Metropolitan cities such as Johannesburg have put in

place strategic documents such as Human Development Strategy and Growth and Development Strategy to respond the particular needs of migration. Both strategic planning documents have a platform on migratory issues, as the city is a major destination of many migrants from all over the world and many from other South African provinces.

Historically, many governments have viewed migration as a critical issue, but it has not been systematically integrated into pro-poor development planning and strategies. Development projects that are undertaken in many developing countries have not been putting more effort in understanding patterns and timing of migration. Migrants are seen at times as the incidental beneficiaries or victims of other interventions, particularly in trade policy and rural development. Migration data collection and analysis has also been reported to be out-dated and unusable to policy makers in most governments.

The population census do not provide information that can be used directly to established the extent and patterns of migration to Johannesburg, but they do provide data with on long-term trends in the size of city's population (Beal, et al, 2002).

According to Oosthuisen and Naidoo (2004), most recent migrants living in Gauteng comprising almost 1,013 million have moved from somewhere in Gauteng itself. They are mostly concentrated or reside in the metropolitan regions and they constitute 83, 20%. They showed that almost 740 500 recent migrants have come to the province from other eight provinces and are also concentrated within the metropolitan regions. Johannesburg is indisputably a major recipient of migrants; it is the metropolitan with the greatest population of 36, 5% of the total it receives and relatively larger proportion of intra-Gauteng migrants with estimated 39, 5% (Oosthuisen and Naidoo 2004).

Oosthuisen and Naidoo (2004) averred that migrants from different provinces tend to be over-represented in specific regions within Gauteng. Central to this is that most in-migrants from Eastern Cape are highly attracted particularly to Ekurhuleni and Johannesburg Metropolitan.

2. 10. Conclusion

Internal migration is a phenomenon process that will incessantly shape the developmental trajectory of big cities. It also awakens sending areas about their lack of capacity to cater for their people. One can infer from the above that migration within South Africa needs rethinking in both sending and recipient destination areas. Developmental Local government has a critical role to play in strategizing about the migration phenomenon. Seemingly, the City of Johannesburg acknowledges the presence of migrants in the city.

The City of Johannesburg showed this by commissioning the study by Crush et al (2004) to look at the status quo of internal migrants comparatively with cross-border and non-migrants in the City of Johannesburg. International migration proved to be a major feature among nations with the obvious pressures and opportunities of globalization. It remains to be seen on how internal migrants will participate fully in the economic terrain of the new destination. The following chapter looks at the livelihood approaches that are common to people in the face of uncertainty. It will also discuss the concept of social network.

C h a p t e r 3: Livelihood approach and networks

3.1. Livelihood approach and networks

This section argues and engages with livelihood literature and frameworks. It reflects how individuals cope and organized resources and assets. It strives to identify various means that people adopt in coping with dilemmas. This section brings about the understanding of the urban poor and rural-urban linkages patterns and strategies. Internationally, many scholars have examined and utilized the livelihood approach in examining, identifying, understanding and describing how individuals, households, and communities survive and what livelihood strategies they employ in the face of the socio-economic crisis such as poverty and unemployment.

The present study aim and strives to understand, identify and examine the livelihood strategies of in-migrants in Johannesburg, specifically on the livelihood strategies they utilized when they first arrive in Johannesburg. As Meikle (2002:37) contends, “the relationship between the poor, local governments and other actors in the political context are critical to the poor well-being. Thus this study cannot be pursued without looking at the documented responses of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality to livelihoods and internal migration. In addition, the influences of the context on individual livelihoods are inevitable reconciled and influenced by various actors such as policies, institutional and organizational structures that are also the product of the context. Therefore, it is the aim of this study to offer such a syndicated contextual account about human livelihood in the midst of socio-economic challenges facing big cities such as Johannesburg.

The rational for this study is motivated by the research question that strives to understand livelihood strategies of internal migrants, on how they generate income on first arrival. This is raised in the event of the changing circular migration patterns and the permanent migration patterns emerged in the post-apartheid South Africa. People in sending areas have continuously engaged and keep contacts with kin, friends and other relatives in host big cities.

Another impetus relates to the declination of the gold and mining sector where only men were employed in the sector in the past. Women in the post-apartheid are engaged in permanent migration owing to the changing gender roles, flexible labour market patterns and the emancipation of women in the South African gender policies. Socio-economic problems such as poverty and unemployment have inevitable pushed both males and females to seek for livelihood means in order to take care of their households.

Research by anthropologist has focused on the transnational processes that evolve within the lives of individual and families. Their particular attention is based on the personal, economic, and social conditions that articulate the world that have been left by migrants and the new world they have entered (Goodson-Lawes 1993; Mahler 1995;' Min 1995 & Wong 1998) cited in Brettell (2000).

The focus on the present study is not directed at understanding the world left by migrants, rather directly focusing at the new world they have entered, specifically on how they chase livelihood in the new urban ecology. Brettell (2000) argued that theories that are concerned about ways of forging social relationships and networks and how social systems are established are at the core of network analysis.

Brettell (2000) superimposed that anthropologists have studied the role of networks specifically on ties of kinship and friendship in the process of chain of migration in a wide range of cross-cultural context. In this particular perspective, migrants are argued to seek work first in one place, then another, directly where they have kin and friends. Wilson (1994) argues principally by advocating that migration networks must be envisaged as aid rather than encapsulating, as leaky, expanding, and fluid. This attests to Massey et al (1993:449) conceptualization that networks can develop into self-perpetuating to migration because each act of migration itself creates a platform for the social structure that according to Massey need to be sustained. Brettell (2000) stressed that fact that every set of migration itself reduces the cost the subsequent migration for a set of friend and relatives. This might indeed encourage massive migration in

societies and further consolidate ties in host destination areas (Brettell, 2000).

Rio de Janerio by Perlman cited in (Sinclair, 1978) shed some light and evidence into the life of a newcomer into the city that might relate to the present study. Rio offers a traditional view that accounts that shantytown dwellers are lonely and rootless and are unable to adapt to urban life and contended that they are unable to return their villages. She offers very fascinating perspectives arguing that the process of adjustment in the city comprises of finding subsistence during the first period of the visit, locating sources of income from full-time or part-time jobs and at times secured contacts and credit sources with which to commence business (Sinclair, 1978)

The livelihood approach was referred by Grown & Sebstad (1989:941) as the
"mix of individual and household survival strategies developed over a given period of time that strives to mobilize available resources and opportunities. Resources can be assets such as property, human assets such as time and skills, social assets and collective assets. Opportunities include kin and friendship networks, institutional mechanisms, organizational and group membership, and partnership relations. The mix of livelihood strategies thus includes labour market involvement, savings, accumulation and investment; borrowing; innovation and adaptation of different technologies for production; social networking; changes in consumption patterns; and income, labour and assets pooling" (Grown & Sebstad 1989:941)

Looking at livelihood strategies of in-migrants will stretch one to also consider the role of the informal sector in the city. ILO (1985) and Seth Raman (1981a) cited in Grown & Sebstad (1989) asserted that growing of the informal sector in urban and by extension, resort areas in the developing world can be attributed to rural-urban migration. They alluded that this puts increased pressures on scarce employment opportunities in the host city and that the existence of the informal sector is directly linked to the need of the urban poor to supplement their income.

This is a relevant study as the study surmised that most of in-migrants have ventured into the informal sector in response to their immediate basic needs of survival such as food, shelter and others. Others opt for the informal sector without any alternative, and others used it as a last resort hence the limited formal employment in the Johannesburg.

Chambers and Conway (1992) view a livelihood as comprises of capabilities, assets; including material and social resources and activities required for a means of living. In consolidating, Carney (1998:4) pondered that a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base (Carney, 1998:4).

Whitehead (2002:576) asserts that it is critical to understand livelihoods as the tactical and strategic behaviour of improvised people that produced diverse ways in which people make a living and build their worlds. Whitehead (2002), retailed that in the absence of the cash economy or social contract and lack of social protection by the state, then livelihood framework transcends all and attempts to describe how groups of people pool their resources and diversity in their activities in order to reduce risk and enhance cohesion and solidarity and ensure massive investment and distribution of resources to ensure well-being of individuals in the present without compromising the future (Whitehead, 2002).

These kinds of livelihood processes and tactics are surmised to be more applicable in a society and economy that allows people to venture into diversifies informal group activities. The definition of an informal economy has been very elusive, as it comprises so diverse activities that have to a large extent proved to be valuable to the mostly vulnerable groupings in our society. This is particularly the fact with the new arrivals in many urban areas; they may face uncertainty about their future employment and income. As a response to that insecurity they may venture into the informal economy as an attempt to secure and chase livelihoods. Necessarily and inevitable the informal economy is very ambiguity and unpredictable and exposes in-migrants to many crisis of

cut in income, and most vague cease in their businesses that is usually due to lack of access to loans and credits.

Linked to migration (Whitehead (2002:577) argues that the search for better and more secure livelihood drives many migratory movements. This search for better livelihood is tie to what Nyberg-Sorensen et al (2002), cited in Whitehead (2002) assumed as most common when survival is at stake. Whitehead (2002) ponders that access to migration as an opportunity, the ability to choose whether or not to migrate and the outcome of migration for livelihoods are not clearly and even distributed.

He retailed that benefiting from migration particularly for the poor, rich or less-poor will depend on their means. Such means are viewed as assets, resources and strategies in the form of networks and planning as well as relations of power and inequality. Whitehead (2002) supposed that these means are influence by the institutions that permit access to, or exclude people, household and communities from resources whether in the form of economic, social, political or natural resources (Whitehead, 2002:577).

Mosse et al (2002) postulated that most movements that involve the poor are highly subjected to access only to poorest paid unskilled jobs, poor living conditions, or inadequate services. Mosse (2002) contends that this might go beyond to produce inequality between the poorer and the richer migrants and between poorer migrants and the population as a whole. These are dynamics that are faced by many in-migrants in big cities in South Africa. Their movements are very conditioned by the expectations that big cities are well receptive and prepared to cater for their immediate needs.

In-migrants are often caught uninformed about urban life dynamics and this may be compounded by their lack of preparedness, with lack of skills and education necessary to secure immediate and permanent employment. This may predisposed them to vulnerability to urban life that might affect their motivation to devise other means of survival.

This may ultimately expose in-migrants into what Batchelor and Scott, (2001), coined vulnerability context. This perspective outlines the detrimental environment in which people exist. It surmised that people's livelihoods and their wider availability of assets are fundamentally affected by critical trends as well as by shocks and seasonality, which they come out to impose no control over them. This is also linked to major urban trends that are informed by challenges and changes in geographical landscape, location, seasonality, population density, trends in governance; including politics, technological trends and shocks (Batchelor and Scott, 2001).

Livelihood is seen again as composed of various components such as:
-Ability to create gainful employment (on-or off-farm, wage labour) income, production and recognition
-Poverty reduction and minimizing risks
-Well-being and capacities (what people can do or be with their entitlements)
-Livelihood adaptation, coping, vulnerability and resilience
-Natural based sustainability (most rural livelihoods are reliant on natural resource base to some extent) (Carney, 1998).

Meikle (2002) averred that urban context depends largely on the following assets:
-Savings and access to credits
-Labour, health, education
-Land for agricultural purposes
-Housing, livestock, and production equipment, and
-Social support mechanisms and information (Meikle, 2002).

These are critical survival strategies relevant to first time arrival in-migrants in big metropolitan cities. Internal migrants migrate from the original areas without adequate information about the host destination city and they end up moving forth and backward. This is particularly caused by the lack of insight into urban life and strategies. They sometimes suffer in language that is used in the host city, sometimes not skilled and not

prominent in engaging and negotiating with the urban processes and general life. Other in-migrants use social, economic and political networks to facilitate their transition to the city life. Detrimental to others, such networks may not be available and this implies more woes for them.

In-migrants might need to negotiate means of becoming part of the interacting city network in order to secure job and actually access the labour market arena. Central to in-migrants is to secure jobs and become involved in diverse economic activities as a priority. They also need to be integrated into the socio-cultural, norms and values that are practiced in the host, but sometimes they continue with their cultural and traditional practices particularly when they formed home and town association in the new host city. All these required some sorts of particular engagements, knowledge's and education and skills. They also need to reconcile their expectation with those of the new host city, central to this is adjust to organizational and institutional process, city governance and to the legal or rule of law governing behavior and action.

Peberdy, Crush; Msibi, (2004:31) revealed that most of in-migrants in Johannesburg live across the city's suburbs, townships and informal settlements. They submitted that it is often difficult for in-migrants to find jobs because they do not have proper social networks and this is compounded by the inability to find suitable employment.

The study further found that urban poor families, including in-migrants, sustain their livelihoods, or make a living in various ways. These include and range from; informal trading on the streets, running spaza shops, shebeens and crèches, phones on the streets, domestic work, child support grants, old pension grants, disability grants. Others who are poorest may even cultivate vegetables and maize in their backyard for own consumption and also sell to the community in order to survive (Cross, et al, 2005)

In terms of employment status, internal migrants who slightly higher levels of unemployment compare to those born in Gauteng. To this there are striking provincial differences in employment status and levels of internal migrants. People from provinces

such as Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo prevailed with the highest rates of unemployment. Census 2001 indicated that internal migrants from the Eastern Cape are the most unemployed group with estimated 30.5% of males and 34,5% females unemployed (Census 2001). For those who are working, they are mostly found in sectors such as financial, community and manufacturing sectors as well as private households. This is tied by the often very low income, insecure employment and poor working conditions. Some sections of most migrants in Johannesburg survive through informal sector, street trading, and small businesses in the inner city. Others are sectoral concentration; this includes construction and services (Kok, et al. 2003)

3.2. Livelihood: Tangible and intangibles

Ability and capacity to purse different livelihood strategies solely depends on the basic material and social assets that people have in their disposal. These are divided into tangible and intangible; the former includes land, access to labour and or equipment and technology, access to capital and credit and the latter includes skills, knowledge, good health, social relations, social networks, affiliations etc. on which people draw when pursing different livelihood strategies.

Livelihood approach is seen as concerned particularly with people as a priority. The model is solely concerned with gaining a clear picture and understanding of people's strengths; that is assets and capital endowments and how people strive to translate this into positive livelihood sustainable outcomes. It is based on a belief that people need a range of assets and resources to accomplish positive livelihoods outcomes. Is also informed by a belief that no single category of assets on its own is sufficient to yield all the many and varied livelihoods outcomes that people seek (Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets, DFID, 2000).

3.3. Social network

A widely held belief surmised that rising urban unemployment, housing backlog, inadequate water and electricity, poor sanitation, lack of transport and all other services and decline in quality of life in urban life are as a result of influx migrants from the rural

areas. On a realistic level, rural people in urban areas cannot alone be blamed for decline quality of life and services in big cities, it is the urban planning and social policies that need to understand migration volume, dynamics and consequences as it relates to service delivery. On that note the experience and the outcome of migration varies widely and depends upon the economic (income generation) and social (membership of kinship networks) and good credit status, connection to brokers, access to information and other resources and assets. Furthermore, migration can result positive and negative and neutral and ambivalent contribute to development particularly in low income countries (Oberia, 1987).

Very little is known about the factors that influence the creation of new livelihood systems in the host destination city and its impact on urban ecology. Massey (1981), superimposed that social networks must not only be seen as the remarkable cause of migration, but also as the critical reason and impetus for the perpetuation of migration.

Pioneers in the literature of migration contended that internal migration policies should be realistic about the possibilities of providing alternatives to migration. This includes strengthened existing established patterns and central to this is livelihoods (De Haan & Roglay, 2002). This has called for the integration of internal migrants into the urban center's economic circles and in ensuring their access to equitable services.

Several schools of taught globally have strived to explain why people migrate providing different varying analysis ranging from micro level of analysis, push-pull theories and to macro level of analysis. This has span most of their time hypothesizing why people move. And the most critical contemporary treatment of the theoretical position in the literature is derived from Massey and his colleagues (Massey, 1993).

The debates on migration and its causes have transcends to consider "social network theory that have recently dominated the demographic and sociological literature. Social network theory assumes that recurrent sets of interpersonal ties are powerful in binding migrants and non-migrants together within a web of reciprocal obligations. This can help

to facilitate internal migrant's entry, adjustment, and employment at points of destination or host city (Massey, 1993). Massey (1993) contended that social connection to someone with migrant experience at a particular destination represent a crucial source that can be utilized to facilitate movement and eventually entry and economic participation.

The concept of social network is not simplistic, as most scholars have used it so light before. It is very complex indeed and caution has been that social network should not be regarded simplistically as facilitating migration in all circumstances. This has called for scholars to consider the contextual factors under which migration is taking place and what was adopted to be appropriate to use the term migrant network when dealing with social networks in a migration context (Golderblom, 2001). Massey (1981), superimposed that social networks must not only be seen as the remarkable cause of migration, but also as the critical reason and impetus for the perpetuation of migration.

Several conceptual models were forwarded to explain how the social network operates; this includes most importantly, social capital. Social capital assumes that actors migrate to maximize returns on their investments in human capital and doing so, draw upon the social capital embedded in the interpersonal networks.

It is surmised that social networks are central to migrants stride in securing jobs, accommodation, circulating goods and services, as well as psychological support and incessant social and economic information. Poros (2001) asserted that social networks have a critical role to play in guiding migrants into or through specific places and occupations. Social networks can pave the way for migrants to understand the local labour markets that can assist them to strengthen interpersonal and organizational ties with existing non-migrants In the light of the above, migration then can be viewed at this level as a process of network building, which depends particularly on social relationships across space (Poros, 2001). This is tied to the connections with earlier migrants that might provide potential migrants with many resources that migrants can use to abolish risks and costs of migration. This includes information about procedures

(technical as well as legal) financial support, job prospects, administrative access, physical attendance and emotional solidarity (Meyer, 2001).

These connections can indeed assist internal migrants to enter the terrain of income generation activities and full participation in the economy of the host City. Internal migrants through networking with former migrants and non-migrants, family and friends they can easily adjust and realize their own potential through generating their own income and refrain from dependence on others to survive.

Deumert et al (2005) contended that it is not clear whether governments need to recognize and support informal and formal support that can improve the quality of life of the vulnerable populations. He asserted that urban planning and social policies need to create conditions under which migrants can forge broader and more independent networks, which must go beyond the immediate kin and friendship tie. Deumert (2005) advocated for the strong combination of close-knit and loose-knit networks that individuals can obtain the benefits of social protection. He alluded that this ensures that basic needs are meet and economic opportunities which allow enhancing their well-being beyond basic needs and realizing their potential through income generation activities (Deumert, 2005).

3.4. Conclusion

The bulk of the discussion in this chapter has shaped research questions and findings of the study as it relates with the debate that was sparked in this section. This section concludes by deducing from the text that livelihood approach represent a very contestable terrain in the human history. Assumptions and common knowledge informs us that people; in-migrants have common experiences and needs for survival. But, in a broader and critical outlook, in-migrants needs are diverse and complex and they are mostly determined by the time, space and context and most centrally their own history back in the sending area /community. This section reflects that the examination of livelihood strategies of in-migrants needs a specific alignment, with social, economic and political networks. As one study in Johannesburg on internal migration uncovered

that in-migrants struggle to find jobs solely because they lack social networks proves the viability of looking at this relationship. The following chapter will shed light into current City of Johannesburg strategic direction informed by documents such the Human Development Strategy and Growth and Development Strategy.

Chapter 4: City of Johannesburg: City development paradigm/policy agenda

4. 1. Joburg Context

The City of Johannesburg is based on the structured final determinations for A, B and C municipal structures that were formed categorically in 2000. This process took arduous efforts in transforming the City from the previous eleven Transitional Local Councils that included Diepsloot, Midrand/Ivory Park, Sandton, Northcliff /Rosebank, Roodepoort, Doornkop/ Soweto, Alexandra, Inner City, Johannesburg South, Diepkloof/ Meadowlands and Ennerdale/ Orange Farm. Given the changes after 1995 local government elections, Johannesburg boundaries experience some changes in service delivery and governance with some huge improvements and policy coordination. Today City of Joburg administration is structured into seven Regions as customer service centers, A to G, Core Departments and about 11 Entities.

Malik (2001:879) “contended that cities are not just housing people and economic activities, or building streets and architecture; they are also places of struggle for social and spatial justice and equitable distribution of resources as well as places of arts, culture and civilization”. This is very precise for all cities in the global world; most vulnerable in the struggle are migrants coming from outside the border country and those from other parts of the country. They find themselves wanting and chasing ever-changing and unpredictable city life. They may sometimes secure housing but struggle strongly to access services and economic opportunities. This hit particularly those without skills, education and experience and most critically those who lack social network in the new urban area.

White Paper on Local Government, 1998, indicates that developmental local government is local government devoted to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic, and material needs and improve the quality of their lives (White Paper on Local Government, 1998). This has been the focus of municipalities as the power was devolved from the national sphere of government. However, array of critical issues have been overlook in the

decentralization process and the critical one is the lack of capacity among many municipalities in South Africa. Metropolitan municipalities have done better given their location and skills available, as they are located in big attractive cities such as Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and EThekwini. The problem in metropolitan municipality is their capacity to deal with array of crisis in their cities. Notable crisis is the urbanization levels with people coming from all provinces to one city in numbers and that is the current issue facing the City of Johannesburg. Internal migrants have formed a very crucial part of the city and it is important to understand how the metropolitan thinks about the situation.

The thorny debate about City strategies has resurrected and form central agenda in national discourses. Fundamental in this debate is that city strategies are highly recognized as pivotal in reshaping cities across the globe. The African continent have taken a progressive stance in shaping these debates in a platform under the umbrella of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in devising mechanism to deal with city strategies. Progressive stance was assumed in 1999 by Cities Alliance to utilize City development as a key tool to enhance the living standard of the urban poor (Moodley, S, 2004).

The cornerstone for South African city strategy is the well-envisaged Integrated Development Plans (IDP) that mirrors a version of city strategies. Integrated Development Plan has become strong mechanisms in directing transformation, budgetary function and governance mandate around South Africa. Recently Cities have taken long-terms strategic planning forward with Growth and Development strategies as the case in Johannesburg and also Egoli 2000 and also Joburg 2030 as critical examples of city strategies pertinent to the ever changing society. The City of Johannesburg is faced with multiple key challenges that they need to deal with such as: Low economic growth and structural unemployment, High levels of poverty, Low levels of literacy and skills development, HIV/AIDS, Crime, Unsustainable development practices, Poor access to basic household services, Backtracking local government.

In response to these challenges, the city adopted progressive short and long-term metropolitan strategic plans. These plans give impetus and are driving force in the planning of the city, they give direction on what needs to be done in ameliorating uprooting crisis. Most primarily is to enhance the economic growth of the city in order to realize the global city standard.

The first democratic government elected in 1994 in South Africa set out to reduce geographic inequities, prioritize settlement restructuring, promote infrastructure planning, provision and financing of all public services and redress the entrenched spatial planning imposed by the apartheid regime. After the formation of a new constitution, the government embarked on a process of decentralization, conceding the majority of service delivery to the provincial departments and local government sphere but retaining responsibility for national policy making and application of norms and standards. Factors such as resource allocation, governance and the larger, institutional mechanisms that constrain and facilitate equity in service delivery were prominent in shaping development paradigm.

The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality inherited a very racially based administration from the apartheid government. In the mid-1990s the City was trapped into a weird economic crisis that perpetuated into a situation where the city almost collapsed. Discussions mounted from 1994 without pinpointing the real crisis facing the City financially. The most critical restructuring of local government in the City of Johannesburg was launched in 1999. This emerged after a much-debated Local Transformation Lekgotla consisting of 15 committee members. They appointed a new City Manager mandated to come out with a well-structured and design-solution to Johannesburg crisis.

This culminated into a new bold plan entitled EGoli 2002, designed specifically to restructure and brings rethinking in the entire Johannesburg institutions in order to bring about transformation/or social change. This resulted most pivotal in major strides in Johannesburg institutional setting with a set of municipal-owned service delivery entities

in the form of utilities, agencies and corporative entities. This was complemented by the core administration incorporating different departments, eleven regional administrations, and a very progressive new model of political governance. This was a response to the much needed revolution and social change that people of Johannesburg fought for in their overt slogan of “one city one tax base”. This was a call from the community for an integrated service delivery and the equitable distribution of resources in the city constituents. The EGoli 2002 plan was just the beginning the new dawn for the people of the City of Johannesburg.

The City of Johannesburg moved profoundly to more farsighted strategy after reviewing successes, challenges and crisis that were encountered in EGoli 2002. After extensive review of the City of Johannesburg economy, decision was reached to adopt Joburg 2030 for EGoli 2002, which sets out a long-term vision for the future of Johannesburg. Joburg 2030 was specifically concerned with economic growth with greater emphasis on investments and job creation. It was designed to help to intervene in creating conducive environment for investment, enhance efficiency of investment and intervention to accelerate economic activity. It transcends beyond to cover issues such as City Safety Strategy and an Inner City Development Strategy as part of the future strides of the City of Joburg vision.

Joburg 2030 offered basic paradigm that formed the yardstick for the future stride of the City. This encompasses a “better” city that can be found only on increased gross geographic product (GGP) growth, a city that can increase GGP growth by fully exploiting economies of agglomeration so as to increase total factor production, economies of localization (sector specific) that are deemed to have crucial role, emphasis that normative issues must be applied to the above.

It became evident towards the end of 2004 that the strategy for economic growth cannot operate in a vacuum. It had number of weaknesses, such as it that it was release before South African President announced to the country to idea that the country has two “economies”, first and the second economy, where the President argues that the fruits

of the first economy are not shared at the “second economy” and are not are eking out livelihoods in the second economy. Joburg 2030 was again a plan before the Census 2001 data release, so it was only based on the best available data.

4. 1.1. Integrated Developmental Planning and Migration

The cornerstone for South African city development strategy is the well-envisaged Integrated Development Plans (IDP) that mirrors a version of city strategic future. Integrated Development Plan has become strong mechanisms in directing transformation, budgetary function and governance mandate around South Africa. The Integrated Development Planning is viewed as a process that has taken a progressive stance central to local government in driving the process to ensure that service rendering to communities of a municipality is incessant and of high quality. It necessarily regards communities as integral part of service delivery by advocating for bottom-to-up approach. It instills the perpetual “culture of participation” between all stakeholders in service delivery domain to act collectively with communities as major participants (Integrated Development Planning 2006/11).

Chapter 4 of the Integrated Development Planning argues that the City of Johannesburg is devoted in guaranteeing community participation in the interests of participative democracy at local government level. (Integrated Development Planning 2006/11). The City of Johannesburg further insists that it is dedicated to make public participation an integral part of planning, budgeting and service delivery processes.

The City also ensures high levels of sensitivity and responsiveness to community needs. Critically for this study is to understand the processes or mechanisms or readiness of the City of Johannesburg to arriving migrants. As much as public participation is espoused as integral part of city development and service delivery, however, the lives of the newcomers in the city need particular attention. The Integrated Development Planning seemingly locates the position of migrants as a key development planning issue. Migrants are obviously placed under the poor and vulnerable groups in the City. So the Integrated Development Planning only embrace on how planning will

intervene to proactively absorb the poor and vulnerable, including internal migrants presumably.

4. 1.2. Johannesburg Growth and Development Strategy

Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) was introduced in the City of Johannesburg as a progressive and intervening long-term strategic plan in order to improve the economic growth of the city in order to ensure that all city residents' benefit from economic opportunities and that service delivery is sound and accessible, progressive, sustainable and equitable. It came into effect in 2006 when the Executive Mayor of the City of Johannesburg; Amos Masondo; introduced Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) in his budget speech. He conceived GDS as a progressive updated version of the Joburg 2030 economic plan for the city, defining the developmental path of the City.

The new plan was conceived to encompass a 'development paradigm' that engages six progressive principles, that include among others;

-**Proactive absorption of the poor**

-Balanced and share growth

-Facilitated social mobility

-Settlement restructuring

-Sustainability and environmental justice

-Innovative governance solutions

This principles maneuvers a vision that sees the City of Johannesburg becoming one global city's that competes robustly in the global village, seeing Johannesburg incessantly becoming South Africa's business city, a dynamic center for production, innovation, trade, finance and services (City of Joburg http://www.joburg.org.za).

The new Growth and Development Strategy envisaged a city as more equitable and integrated with the strong commitment to the poor and vulnerable groups. This is informed by an intervention that the poor will be helped out poverty and enjoys fruits of democracy and upward mobility (City of Joburg report, 2006). Most interestingly for this research is the position or standpoint of migrants in the city processes to improve their

lives. Internal migrants coming from other South African provinces flow to Johannesburg regularly with the purpose of enhancing their livelihoods. City plans operate under the impression that the city has a specific population as shown by Census 2001. The city needs to go beyond, to understand, investigate and get into grip with the dynamics of internal migrants hence they arrive in the city and has no clue on their activities and strategies.

The vigorous contest in this discourse is that the City need to account for migrant's needs, as Peberdy (2003) insisted that the City of Johannesburg is a place for most migrants both from outside South Africa and those from other South African provinces, he emphasized that the city needs to account for their needs as they form the significant part of the city.

Growth and Development Strategy presently focus on restructuring the city with the impetus to bring understanding on what long-term strategy the city must assume. It emphasis private public partnerships (PPPs), with the strong view that the city needs to work promptly and reflexively with other social partners in order to shape the significant and emerging common views and developments. The rationale for this is to accelerate economic growth and development in an approach that will benefit all city residents. Growth and Development Strategy is envisaged to have main components and this includes; long-term strategic perspective, a development paradigm, a vision, a clear set of strategic choice.

4.1.3. Human Development Strategy (HDS 2004)

It has been noted that at international, national, provincial and local levels, human development agenda is claiming an increasingly prominent position and is topping priorities. The intention of the Human Development Strategy is to provide a progressive vision within which city policies accommodate a human development perspective and addresses conditions such as poverty, inequality and social inclusion on a city-scale. Significant indicators show that almost more than half of the households in

Johannesburg earn less than R1 600 or less a month, and almost one in five residents do not have formal housing.

A human development perspective adopted by HDS recognizes that people are the city's biggest asset and that they need to be supported and motivated to realize their full potential to become full-fledged urban residents. The Human Development Strategy presents the city plan for combating poverty and for promoting human development in the medium term to 2016 (City of Johannesburg, 2005. (Human Development Strategy, 2005).

Responses and debates from the City Council and array of stakeholders culminated in the decision to complement Joburg 2030 economic growth with a more focused and narrower strategy meant solely to address poverty and unemployment. This resulted in the formulation of the Human Development Strategy (HDS) in December 2004. The most critical part of HDS is that it uncovered that the economy of Johannesburg does not benefit all residents and that was the main crisis that needed urgent attention from the City Council. This was coined under the package of intervention under the umbrella of "Joburg Triangle".

It focuses on interventions such as; safeguarding and supporting poor and vulnerable households in their efforts to access local and provincial social safety nets, championing rights and opportunities for those who suffer the effects of structural inequality in the City; and building prospects for social inclusion by developing partnerships between the City and its residents. In doing so it argues that targeting human development is central to the short to medium term if the City Council is concerned about Johannesburg residents.

Human Development Strategy responds that new arrivals and newly displaced people will be promptly provided with urgent and interim household services. This shows that the City is aware and concerned about the newcomers. Again the city is responsible for accommodating new arrivals and in directing them to policy governance of the city. It is

also encouraging that the only second broader scale metropolitan plans considered new arrivals and migrants as important part of the city and therefore need specific urgent attention.

Human Development Strategy recognizes that not all residents are equally able to claim their rights and opportunities. It contends that the poor and unemployed particularly struggle perpetually to join the labour market. Human Development Strategy notes particularly that certain groups are suffering from economic inequalities. It notes that this particularly affects children, youth and the women, but also notes that this exacerbates when it includes migrants.

4.2. Conclusion

This section was an account of the City of Johannesburg city strategic development planning. It is now apparent that Johannesburg has perhaps understood that it needs pragmatic direction in meeting the needs of diverse communities. The mandate of the City of Johannesburg as it relates to migration proves to be the one area that needs concerted alignment. Migrants continue to flow to Johannesburg and this present opportunities and challenges for city. This section shows that Johannesburg has done enough to adjust their strategic metropolitan documents to bring alignment to the particular contextual issues at present and for the future. The following section will focus on the methodological imperatives that inform this discourse.

C h a p t e r 5: Research Question and Methodology

The present study engages qualitative research approach informed by research techniques such as interviews, in-depth interviews and observations. The following chapter engages the research question that informed the methodological decision for the study. This is couple by the rationale for choosing qualitative approach and its techniques. The last section engages critical issues such the as the relationship between interviewer and interviewees, elements of access, data analysis method and limitations and ethical considerations of the research.

5.1. Research Question

The core of the study is about how individual in-migrants generate income when they first arrive in Johannesburg in the midst of socio-economic challenges facing the City of Johannesburg. Coupled with this, is to reflect on the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality's documented response in their strategic plans to these issues. Therefore, the study focuses on the experiences of individual internal migrants coming from the Eastern Cape residing in Yeoville area in Johannesburg.

The following questions form the yardstick for this study: First, what happens to individuals when they first arrive in the City of Johannesburg? Who they first contact when arriving, who they stay with, and who they rely or depend to when arriving; Second, how they generate income, what resources and assets they have at their disposal, which they work for, how they respond to poverty and unemployment? Thirdly, what social, economic and political networks do they have? How they see their lives; it as better or worse? Are they intending staying or leaving Joburg. These research questions are informed by the literature examined in the last three chapters before the fieldwork that was conducted in Yeoville area of Johannesburg.

5.2. Qualitative method and techniques

Qualitative method was opted for based on number of factors that were necessary in presenting the overall study. Techniques that were employed are in-depth interviews with open-ended questions and observations and they are informed by the research question. The main intention of the study is to investigate livelihood strategies that in-migrants use to generate income, how they survive when first arrive in Johannesburg, and how the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality responds in their strategic plans such as Human Development Strategy and new Growth and Development Strategy. The purpose, therefore, is not to judge their livelihood strategies but rather to identify and provide conceptual insight into the livelihood strategies.

5.3. Interviews as a research technique

Interviews were opted based on the assumption that in-migrants will provide a great deal of information on their lived experiences and perceptions. This is based on their social, economic, institutional and political experiences in the post-apartheid City of Johannesburg and how they feel about their various livelihood strategies. Face-to face interviews were adopted in order to access, observe and experience as many facets of the individual in-migrants as possible (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1981:103). Face-to-face interviews have historical a high response rate and it further allows for follow-up questions and responses to be clarified and explained further.

Open-ended questions were also adopted permitting an unlimited number of possible answers. Neuman (1997) and Kvale (1996) at some point caution that open-ended questions can imposed a backtracking when different respondents give different degrees of detail to answers and that some responses might be irrelevant and time-consuming and hence unnecessary. However, these interviews allow more deep interactions with respondents, which might lead to great detail of information about the phenomenon in question.

5.4. Participant observation

Participant observation is described as an activity that best understood as a methodology or discursive practice that took shape in particular social and historical circumstances in anthropology in the early twentieth century. Schwandt (1997:110) defined participant observation as a procedure for generating understanding of the ways of life of others. Schwandt asserted that this procedure puts an obedient obligation on the researcher to engage in some relatively prolonged period of participation in a community, group and take some part in the daily activities of the people among whom he or she is studying. He insisted that the researcher needs to reconstruct their activities through the process of inscription, transcription and description of field notes made on the spot or soon thereafter.

In a nutshell, participation observation encompasses activities such as direct observation, interviewing, notes taking, reflection, analysis, and interpretation. It also engages and cover ethical, major influential issues at the time of fieldwork, political concerns involved in entering the world of those one studies, gaining their trust, developing rapport and most chiefly, grasping their ways of talking about and acting in their world

Kenneth Burke (1935:70) cited in Schwandt (1997) noted that a “way of seeing is always a way of not seeing”. The researcher in this study was very vigilant about the possible of being there but not seeing other dynamics in the setting. Fieldwork conducted was coupled by robust observations of the interview context, which is the holistic view of the area, major events that are taking place in Yeoville and Johannesburg in general, but most particularly, the household setting. The journey of observation was consolidated by deeper interaction with respondents. This was buttressed by the fact that the researcher is a homeboy to the respondents; as the researcher is also coming from the Eastern Cape as respondents. However, the researcher never met respondents before the interviews; nor neither knows them for the Eastern Cape. The fact that the researcher is homeboy to them allowed a cherished session; boosted by the use of the same language we share, IsiXhosa.

Interestingly, this also led to assumptions about my research focus and motives. For example, at some point I had to wait to interview a respondent working in his brother's spaza shop, there was a gentleman also in the shop who only overhead the part that I am from Wits and doing research, he predicted that I am doing research on Xhosa's cultural ritual of males going to the mountain. He was excited and he asked if I am also from the mountain and he was disappointed to hear that I am not researching on that issue.

One interview was nearly not finished due to vigorous intimidation by the respondent's boyfriend who came in the flat during the interview proceedings. He asked what is happening and why and he hurried the woman to answer and let me leave because he is the owner of the flat, auspiciously, the interview had finished. Another observation from the interview process was that, contrary to public perception that people who are not working lack necessary accessories, TV, DVDS, videos and other array of household goods, the respondents interviewed in this research happen to have much of these assets. The setting where respondents were found tells the reality of massive shared rental accommodation. In most instances woman were sharing by three and even five in one flat with all of them coming from the Eastern Cape. Others are sharing with their sisters, brothers and friends.

5.5. Archival Research

The study also employs archival or documentary research and analysis. This in principle points to the direct examination of documents in order to further engages and understands the social world and most pivotal to trace responses, events, origins and places (Denzin, 1978; Leedy, 1989; Hill, 1993). Archival research was chosen in order to document the response of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality's policy strategic agenda to internal migration.

5.6. Qualitative Data Analysis

According to Seidel (1998), qualitative data analysis is about noticing or observation, collecting and thinking about interesting things. He asserts that this process is complex and nonlinear, where the researcher goes back and forth between the three stages striving to gather relevant and reliable data. It is indeed an inestimable exercise, very iterative and recursive. Qualitative data from the fieldwork notes is analyzed in the following chapter by means of content analysis. This will organized in terms of major emerging themes from interviewees. Themes are progressive in reflecting the experiences and stories raised by interviewees to the phenomenon in question and are very organized in detailing their feelings in a more coherent manner.

5. 7. Sampling methods

Schwandt (1997:140) postulated that there are two critical sampling issues in qualitative studies. These include; selecting a field site in which to study some phenomenon and sampling within the case or field site (Schwandt, 1997). The field site for the research was Yeoville residential area of Johannesburg and it engaged the researcher going and knocking in the flats and houses randomly looking for in-migrants coming from the Eastern Cape. Schwandt caution that the fieldworker does not study a place or site, but investigate the phenomenon in question within a place or site. Twelve respondents were interviewed, with eight females and four males all of them coming from the Eastern Cape Province.

5. 8. Research site: Yeoville

Yeoville was chosen on the basis of the combination of criteria including availability of in-migrants, access to them and theoretical interest. Yeoville as a site was chosen with the insight that people from the Eastern Cape have historical value for the place. During the apartheid era, Yeoville was one of the areas in the inner city of Johannesburg where people from the Eastern Cape prefer settling at. Even some respondent mentioned that their old sisters and brothers were staying in Yeoville and others in Hillbrow.

This picture shows the Yeoville residential suburb in the inner city of Johannesburg.

Picture: Yeoville Residential area



Source: www.joburg.org.za

5.9. Researcher and the Respondent

The ascriptive characteristics of a researcher particularly age; race, ethnic background and gender have a pertinent role in the research process in shaping a relationship during the interview. Seemingly, in this research, race, ethnic and language played a beneficially role in accessing and going through the entire interview. Respondents were very comfortable after realizing that I am also a Xhosa speaking, they continue saying, *"You know these things"* referring to what is happening in the Eastern Cape.

They identified themselves comfortable with the researcher and women were more prepared to narrate even more stories. This assumingly was reinforced by the use of Xhosa language during the interview that also benefited the quality of the research. Respondents were more open because we both used the same language and most of the areas where they are coming from in the Eastern Cape are familiar to the researcher. I was born, grew and attended schooling in the Eastern Cape and I have traveled in the province. I know almost six towns mentioned by respondents and their specific location.

5.10. Limitations of the methodology

The fieldwork that was carried out in Yeoville targeting the sample of people coming from the Eastern Cape is also informed by certain limitations. The researcher/student concedes that the sample size informed by interviews couldn't pick up those who 'made it' on to better areas, or those who didn't 'make it' and had to leave the city or go to other poorer parts of the city. As the interview targeted people even if they arrived three or four years ago, there is a possibility that most of people have moved from Yeoville either to other parts of the City, others have progressed and moved e.g. to Rosebank, or to Pretoria and Ekurhuleni, others to Soweto and to others informal settlements.

Another critical limitation is based on the City of Johannesburg document review of their strategic policy plans that were used in analyzing their response to internal migration. Only few documents Growth & Development Strategy, Human Development Strategy, Integrated Development Plan, State of the City Report Speech other planning reports were dealt with little information on internal migration. These again are the only documents available to the public that can help one to understand the future vision of the City of Johannesburg.

It can also be argued that sometimes city document plans may not be necessarily reflective on what is going on the ground or in practice. This concedes to the limitation that the research did not entertain face-to-face interviews with City Officials on the matters reflected in the policy documents. This resulted in rather general and perhaps only partial picture of the engagement of the city in the migration subject broadly.

5.11. Ethical considerations

As a researcher interviewing respondents also from the same province can produce controversial, but at the same time rich information on the subject. As the researcher was going from one flat to the next, people were willing to share on the strategies they use in surviving, but others were not free to talk. This was noticed after few interviews and ethical considerations were further clarified to respondents. The most intriguing ethical consideration encountered was the one that was indicated by the respondent

who narrated that him and his brothers are stealing material and tools from employer (firm) to do other private jobs and sell others. He also showed the researcher one door lying down next to the bed that was also stolen from the firm by him. He raised this as he understood that I've clarified issues of consent and confidentiality and he knows that I won't be able to contact or report this to his employer. In other instances, women were not free to reveal all they do to survive as other just indicated that it is not important for me to know.

The chapter detailed methodological imperatives that were followed in conducting the research. It shows that research is a very iterative journey that requires high level of competence and focus and the ability to deal with bulk and vague information on the subject matter. The following chapter engages the findings of the study as it relates to both internal migrants stories and experiences and the response from the City of Johannesburg.

Chapter 6: Research Findings: Internal migrant's Stories and City Responses

6. 1. Introduction

The aim of the research was to investigate and provide a conceptual insight into the livelihood strategies of newcomer's in-migrants in the City of Johannesburg, and to reflect on the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality documented response to internal migration as indicated in their major policy and strategic planning documents. The research strives to reveal how in-migrants survive in the context of the socio-economic dilemmas facing Johannesburg such as poverty, joblessness and other pertinent obstacles that hamper development and individual survival. Stories with major themes from in-migrants will be integrated with the response of the City and used to identify gaps in the strategic spatial development planning of the City. This is a valid research focus, as internal migrants have been recorded as constituting a significant part of the population of Gauteng and in Johannesburg particularly (Peberdy, et al, 2004). Peberdy, et al (2004) asserted that any development policy or plans of the city must account strongly for in-migrants.

The ultimate objective of the study was to show how in-migrants generate income and survives when first arrive as newcomers in Johannesburg, and how the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality in their strategic plans such as Human Development Strategy (HDS, 2004) and new Growth and Development Strategy (GDS, 2006) respond to internal migration. The basic approach of the research was a qualitative fieldwork on individual in-migrants coming from the Eastern Cape Province and the desktop analysis of Johannesburg strategic policy plan documents.

The qualitative component was directed towards gathering and gaining information from individual in-migrants themselves through in-depth interviews in the Yeoville area. This was aimed at gaining deeper understanding of their stories/narratives, feelings, opinions and most critically, their experiences on a range of issues. The desktop part component reviewed the available information about in-migrants or migration in the City of Johannesburg strategic documents. This part strived to highlight engagement with the

issue of in-migration, raised concerns, gaps and identifies key dynamics in relation to internal migration and migration in Johannesburg.

The research approach included in-depth interviews that were carried out with individual in-migrants coming from the Eastern Cape Province and who are currently residing in Yeoville. Interviews were conducted on issues of in-migration, income generation/livelihood and all other means of survival in the urban context, major reasons for coming to Joburg and other pertinent range of related issues. Interviews were conducted by one student for three days, Saturday 26 August from 10 am to 3pm, Sunday 27 August 11 am to 3 pm and Monday 28 August 5pm to 7:30 pm this year 2006. These days were chosen with the assumption and hope that most people are available during weekends and it is easily to get them in their flats and houses. The last part of the interviews was completed on Monday 28 August 2006 based on appointments with the respondent seen on weekend.

6.2. Emerging Themes

This section engages empirical and analytical findings. It is organized into significant themes that emerged from in-depth interviews and open interaction and observation during the fieldwork process. The qualitative fieldwork component consisted of eleven in-depth interviews that lasted approximately for 60 minutes (i.e. 1 hour) and even more for each interview with in-migrants in the inner city of Johannesburg, Yeoville area. Emerging themes include, but not limited to the following issues, the first of which give some insight into the profile of the respondents:

6.2.1. Respondents Profiles

Respondent 1: Female from Engcobo in the Eastern Cape: Age range: 31-46
Respondent 5: Female from East London, Mdantsane Township: Age range: 26-30
Respondent 4: Female from King Williams Town: Age range: 31-46
Respondent 6: Male from Tsolo next to Umtata: Age range: 31-46
Respondent 7: Male from Queenstown: Age range: 26-46
Respondent 8: Female from Port Eizabeth: Age range: 31-46

Respondent 9: Female from Stiespruit (i.e. Heshele)

Respondent 10: Male from Umtata: Age range: 31-46

Respondent 11: Female from Mt Frere: age range: 31-46

Respondent 2: Male from Idutywa: age range: 47-55

Respondent 3: Female from Lusikisiki: age range: 31-46

Respondents and year of arrival in Johannesburg

Respondent	Year of arrival
Respondent 1	**1998**
Respondent 2	**2003**
Respondent 3	**2002**
Respondent 4	**2004**
Respondent 5	**2001**
Respondent 6	**2003**
Respondent 7	**1999**
Respondent 8	**2004**
Respondent 9	**2002**
Respondent 10	**2001**
Respondent 11	**1996**

6. 2.1.Total period living in Johannesburg

The twelve individual interviewees that were interviewed are in-migrants that have been in Johannesburg for a reasonable period of time. Only one interviewee had arrived in Johannesburg last year, 2005, and is the only one who is a student in the sample. The information from the interview was not used in the analysis of finding.

The most important aspect for the research was to understand how in-migrants dealt with life in Johannesburg when they first arrived, specifically their first week in Johannesburg. What was challenging from the interviewer's point of view was the anticipated memory lapse of respondents/interviewees on their first week in Johannesburg even if they came ten years ago. Surprisingly enough, that was not the

case as all interviewees reflected without doubt on their first time arrival experience in Johannesburg. To them the experience of coming to Johannesburg was a life journey they wanted. Majority of the respondents have been in Johannesburg for a long time, with more than 5 years.

6. 2. 2. Levels of education

Level of education is important in reflecting the current status of the internal migrants. Educational attainment provides some useful clue to their probable socio-economic status. The level of education and training of respondents reflected that most of them have managed to pass grade twelve, i.e. they have matric (although three do not have). But they indicated that matric is not helping them to prosper here in Johannesburg as most of them are involved in poor working conditions and low wages.

It is a common reality that the labour market and other sectors of the economy in this epoch are very demanding in terms of skills, level of education and experience. This is particularly true in cities such as Johannesburg where they usually require a high level of understanding of issues that are chiefly acquired in training or in educational domain because of the emerging knowledge economy and technological advancement. Only one out of eleven respondents has a degree and a post-graduate degree with honours and is working in the educational field and research. Oosthuizen, & Naidoo (2004) shows that in comparing educational attainment of males and females, females in-migrants are likely than males to have no education, some secondary, or higher education. This correlates with the current research finding in the sample, as the three female respondents interviewed indicated that they do not have even matric.

Respondent 1: female said:

"Kudala ndilapha eRhawutini ngale matric yam ayindenzeli nto tu futhi zange ndenze ne-Maths le, ndike ndasisebenzisa ngelaxesha ndandi ngu-matshingelani (Security guard) apha eRhawutini".

English:

“I’ve been here in Johannesburg with this matric, it is not working for me and I do not have mathematics, I have utilized it at that time I was a Security Guard here in Johannesburg”

This respondent was complaining that she has been in Johannesburg for long period of time with matric and it is not helping and she does not have mathematics, and she was only employed using matric certificate when she was a security guard here in Johannesburg. Reading among her statement, she highly recognizes the importance of mathematics in matric and seemingly regretting her past choices at secondary schooling. This mirrors the realities of many youth out there with matric without mathematics due particularly to the belief that mathematics is difficult and this is compounded by the lack of career guidance in most previous disadvantaged schools in rural areas and in many township public schools. This manifests as an obstacle in accessing urban opportunities such as higher education, labour market in sectors such as commerce, information technology and financial where mathematics is a prerequisite.

In terms of training, three respondents submitted that they had formal training; one he was still in high school in his original place and one received formal training in the job in Johannesburg with certificates issued. The type of training was in the leadership and management performance short courses related to his work environment and one was trained on the environmental and conservation issues while he was still in high school. Another one was the respondent who is working with Department of Education in research and issues of tendering. He completed a BSC degree in Mathematics and honours in the same subject at Fort Hare University in the Eastern Cape where he was a school teacher before migrated to Johannesburg.

The labour market in South Africa and particularly in Johannesburg demands highly skilled personnel with experience in multiple areas. Again there has been in shift in labour markets in Johannesburg as mining and labour intensive manufacturing sectors have declined. The focus now is on service, community, commercial, technological,

construction, trade and financial sectors that require exceptional experienced candidate with multiple skills. With matric only, it is difficult to mount the labour market ladder.

6. 2. 3. Languages proficiency

People from the Eastern Cape Province are Xhosa speaking. However, all of the respondents indicated that English is the major medium language they understand and speak and they want to improve more on it. Those who have been in Johannesburg for a long period of time are confident that they know Zulu, SeSotho, and Setswana. Only two interviewees said they know and speak Afrikaans. They indicated that English is very helpful when they are seeking means of generating income. Respondent 4 indicated that:

"Although I am not educated, I still use English to communicate at work and with other friends"

6. 2. 4. Rural areas

Only two interviewees reported coming from urban areas, others are from remote rural areas known by the researcher. With respect to the two from urban areas, one is from East London, Mdantsane, the largest township in the Eastern Cape and one is from Port Elizabeth, Zwide Township.

6. 2. 5. Employment Opportunities

On the issue of opportunities it was clear that all interviewees left the community of origin because of lack of opportunities in all walks of life, economically, infrastructural and socially. Only two interviewees were involved in working activities in their community of origin, but they left to pursue their careers in Johannesburg. Interviewees indicated that is nothing one can do after matric in rural Eastern Cape.

Respondent 9, female said *that (in Xhosa) "ngeke ndisebenze, ndifunde amabanga amaphezulu, nditsho ukuya kwifundo ephakamileyo kwakwi ndawo enye phaya ezilalini, futhi impilo wase zilalini ayikhuthazi tu, ayinazo indlela zezamkelo, yo kubi phaya"*

English:

"I will never work and study primary and secondary grades and continues to higher education in the same area around the locations and life in rural villages is not encouraging at all and there are no ways of generating income, it's bad there"

This respondent indicated that she will not work or study further in the same area she was born at; indicating that life in rural areas is boring and unchallenging with lack of robust income generation activities. This is common among young people to consider migrating from their place of origin even if there are chances of enrolling in higher education. For example, Respondent 9 knows very well that Eastern Cape Town has many tertiary institutions of high quality such as Rhodes University, Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth Technikon and many other training institutions and other sectors for career track path after matric. The point is that Johannesburg has created itself as the major destination for many migrants in Africa in general, so Eastern Cape migrants are no exception. The problem for some people is that their expectations are being derailed and they do not necessarily get what they expected.

Cross et al, (2005) reported that in-migrants have a high response level to economic incentive for leaving their original province. She noted the relative plentifulness of employment opportunities in Gauteng in comparison with provinces such as Limpopo, KwaZulu Natal and Eastern Cape as an impetus for the strong internal migration (Cross, et al, 2005). This was uncovered during the interviews that all respondents came to Johannesburg in search for a job and income generation issues. They view Johannesburg as place for growth, quality and development.

Respondent 3, a woman from Lusikisiki noted that she was enticed by the way flats were built in Yeoville as she never stayed in a flat before. She still believes that Johannesburg is the major city for one (referring to her) to generate wealth compare to other major cities in South Africa. In addition, she asserted that she would rather go back home if she fails in Johannesburg and she could not opt for Cape Town or Durban. In relation to the above, the woman Respondent 3 indicated that:

“yooh mntam ndathatheka kakhulu yindlela le-iFlats zalapha eYoeville zazime nagakhona kaloku uyazi ukuba asizazi and zange sahlala kuzo thini. Enye into I-Joburg yiyona dolophu eyayakhulu apha e-South Africa for ukonyusa ubutyebi futhi indlula zonke idolophu zase-Mzantsi Africa. Mna futhi ndikuxelele mntase khaya if andiphumelele apha e-Jozi ndizakuncama ndiye emva ekhaya konoba aye e-Kapa or EThekwini kuba abantu abandaziyo bazele laa-Thekwini futhi andifuni mntu waselalini abe endibuza ukuba ndenzana.”

A study by Kok & Aliber (2005) provides evidence for an important factor explaining migrant’s decision to migrate. It notes migrant’s dissatisfaction with their present circumstances, particularly poor infrastructure and services in their original area. This finding correlates implicitly with my research as respondents assumed that the researcher is aware of the poor service and infrastructure in Eastern Cape hence they respond by pinpointing lack of economic opportunities that are embodied under poor infrastructure and services.

Again Oosthuizen & Naidoo (2004) in the study in-migrants in Gauteng Province indicated that the pattern of unemployment rates for females is observed irrespective of the province of the origin. They noted that in-migrants from the Eastern Cape, Limpopo and KwaZulu Natal have large differences between male and female unemployment and females are more likely to be unemployed. The study by Oosthuizen, & Naidoo (2004) in Joburg indicated that the highest unemployment rate is to be found amongst those born in the Eastern Cape (41, 6%) and Limpopo (38, 4%).

In this current study, women interviewed happened to represent both the employed and unemployed, but however numbers are too little as compared to the sample size that was used by Oosthuizen and Naidoo study. My research also shows that although others are employed, they are employed in a very low status jobs with low wages. This also confirms the same Oosthuizen and Naidoo (2004) research findings that internal migrants in Joburg are more likely to be employed in low status jobs and it shows that

they are also less educated in terms of post matric qualifications in comparison with non-migrants.

6. 2. 6. Influence of relatives or close friends

Out of eleven respondents, nine already had relatives living in Johannesburg and were in regular contact with them prior to coming to Johannesburg. One respondent (Respondent 5) was transferred from the company in East London to Johannesburg, and another one was influenced by a friend and he came to him as they are both from the same community of origin. Finding from Cross et al (2005) is that internal migrants often live in areas where they have family members or other established social networks.

Respondents in the present study indicated that they come to Johannesburg because their family members were already staying in Johannesburg and they first stayed with them on their first arrival. One woman indicated that her sister has been calling and inviting her to come and work in Johannesburg and must not worry about job arrangements. Respondent 8 indicated using Xhosa that:

“Usisi wam endihlala naye apha endlwini wayenditsalela umxeba imihla le kodwa nam ndindimfowunela but yena wayewutshala kakhulu esithi mandize apha e-Joburg ndingaxhalabi ngemilungiselelo ephangelo”.

English:

”My sister that I am staying with now was phoning me almost everyday while I was still at home encouraging me to come to Joburg and not worry about preparations for a job”

This is one indication of the major livelihood strategies that migrants adopt to find their foothold and a way of exercising autonomous in the urban unpredictable environment. The statement by the respondents shows family reciprocal and standpoint that a family will remain a strongest terrain or niche for human beings in our lifetime.

6.2.7. Reasons for coming to Joburg than any other big metros (Tshwane, Durban and Cape Town

All respondents considered Johannesburg as having plenty of jobs, economic, income generation opportunities with the richest infrastructure. This generated one line responses from respondents. Respondent 5 said when he was still in the Eastern Cape; he was specifically impressed by people in his community who were working in Johannesburg. Another respondent (respondent 6) who firstly migrated to Umtata, then East London before Johannesburg insisted that his dream was to see Johannesburg and he was not happy being in Umtata (he is from Tsolo, one of the smallest towns in former Transkie next to Umtata.

6. 2.8. Family Network Connection

Network connection emerged as the most significant and powerful force for in-migrants adjustment in the City of Johannesburg. This was captured precisely in the first interview with one woman who said that she came to Johannesburg hired already. Her sister arranged the job for her before she left Eastern Cape and that was her first job as a cashier in Yeoville Chicken Licken. Her sister knew the owner of the shop and asked if she can bring her sister. This trend of people getting jobs for one another was captured in other six interviews with respondents getting jobs through their families and close friends on arrival.

One woman was called by her sister to come to Johannesburg to work at her sheeben/bar in Yeoville and she has been working there for two years and she is happy. Interestingly, the connection of sisters dominated the journey and income generation among the group that was interviewed. Another respondent who arrived in Johannesburg four years back refused to tell what happened to her when she first arrived, she said is not important for me to know that, but she was interested in engaging in some questions. But, later, she indicated that she was helped by a boyfriend not coming from her place of origin.

Enticing for the research, she received the cell phone call during the interview session for the job to start working as a Bar Lady immediately in Turfontein, South of Johannesburg. The interview continued and I started engaging her on the same move and she indicated that her sister has been assisting her to get employment and is based in Turfontein. I also asked if she knows the origins of the owner of the bar and she indicated that she heard that the owner of a foreign migrant-but she is not that sure. Reading from what transpired particularly from seven interviews, network connection transpired as the key impetus for the lives of the first time newcomers in the City of Johannesburg.

6. 2. 9. Livelihood strategies

Livelihood is seen as the ability and capacity to purse different livelihood strategies. This solely depends on the basic material and social assets that people have at their disposal. There are those who are not currently working, but worked when they first arrived, they were not involved in any income generation activities at the time of the interview. They are dependent on their family members and friends and sometimes they go back home in the Eastern Cape and return after sometime to Johannesburg to the same family member in Yeoville. One interesting issue of the research was that two women who were interviewed are doing the same job of being bar ladies working in a sheebens and this then includes the one that was phoned during the interview.

One woman said she is employed as an assistant manager but graciously and strongly refused to reveal the sector or department and area where she is employed. When asked about the community of origin of the people and the director or owner of the company she indicated that they are from Zimbabwe and refused to tell about others. It is yet unknown why people refuse to tell the sector they are employed in, but it remains important to adhere to ethical consideration of social research. This research has indications that might confirm a highly contested finding that foreigners are also creating jobs for South Africans. This may be particularly precise in areas of the inner city of Johannesburg such as Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow.

These are areas populated by internal migrants from different South African Provinces and cross-border immigrants (i.e. foreigners). These areas are characterized by assortments of small businesses, informal activities of economic exchange characterized by different small retails, hair salons, cell phone shops and repairs, market for hawkers selling vegetables and fruits. In these activities, foreigners are largely involved as owners compare to internal migrants. The possibility for foreigners to employ South Africans is very high given high level of unemployment in South Africa.

From the number that was covered, most of the respondents, seven are employed and four are unemployed, regrettably those employed are in low status jobs with low wages. Others have lost their jobs, including one who was transferred from East London to Johannesburg. On the question on how he generates income currently, he indicated that he is still surviving on his tax returns money and Unemployment Insurance Fund and other funds he invested while he was working. He pointed out that he also owns a house in Yeoville and he used it for rental accommodation.

For those who are working their jobs are insecure and working conditions are not good and are paid very lower salaries. One respondent who is employed but also poorly paid indicated that he and his brothers are stealing material from their employer firm to do private jobs and some materials to supplement their wages. But others who are working are not involved in other income generating activities. Peberdy & Msibi (2004) also reported that the income levels in sectors where internal migrants are represented are often low, tied with insecure employment and poor working conditions.

6. 2. 10. Lack of Resources

This transpired to be an elusive issue for most internal migrants. They felt that without a job there is nothing they can do. One of the respondents (Respondent 6) indicated that he would like to have a progressive leadership center focusing on teaching leadership, life skills and civic engagements issues to young people of South Africa. He felt that with the training he received and workshops he conducted while he was still working could help him to provide a tangible input to the issues facing young people today.

Such thinking seem to be derailed by a number of factors such as lack of information and lack of baseline research and most critically lack of interaction among members of the neighborhood hence his idea informs positive thinking. Other respondents when asked what they would like to do given their experience, they indicated interest in going back to school and some indicated that they wanted to enroll in tertiary education but they had no financial resources at that point. They also hinted that it is difficult to think about business opportunity while staying in someone's flat. This shows that most of them are in rental accommodation as they alluded that owners might refuse business initiative in the flat.

An open-ended question following the above find the expression as I wanted to know how they pay for rent while not working. Respondents indicated that they get help from their partners, close friends and family members. This was asked in order to capture any activity they might be using to generate income they think is not necessary to mention or may hide to reveal some strategies.

6. 2.11. Access to range of livelihood related criteria's

Access to services was one element that internal migrants felt was fine and very accessible. All interviewees believed that health, schooling and other social welfare services are accessible and they have no problem. Contrary to the above, all interviewees felt that access to work and income generation opportunities are very limited and sometimes not available at all. This was the feeling that they all shared, even those who are employed expressed insecurity and dissatisfaction with their jobs.

6. 2.12. Johannesburg-"place to be"

All interviewees view Johannesburg as a place to be even if they are not involved in any activity at the time of the fieldwork. One interviewee sounded very comforted as she submitted that she lives with hope when she is in Johannesburg than any other place in South Africa. Kok and Aliber, (2005) argued that theory and with experience elsewhere

in the world, migrants are attracted by the hope that they might do better, even though many will not (Kok & Aliber, 2005: 48).

This might happen as the present research uncovered that those without skills, education and experience are more likely not to do better. They find themselves looking for any kind of job and if they secure one it is often associated with poor conditions and low wages, dissatisfaction and insecurity. In Cape Town for example, it was reported that although migrants migrated from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town specifically looking for a job, migrants experience high unemployment of 38, 1% and prolonged underemployment.

It was shown that even if there were no chances of getting a job in the new urban area, migrants would still migrate to the same area. Deurmet, Inder & Maitra, (2004), argued that many migrants are operating under what Stark & Bloom (1958:175) called “image of worker success”:” as long as the large number of workers have the belief that high-paying jobs are coming and can be obtained, or it is worth waiting, a migration trend will be perpetuate.

6. 2. 13. Expectations and benefits

Respondents hinted that they assumed grand expectations about Johannesburg as the place where you just enjoy life with money coming from all angles. They asserted that things dictated differently when they reach Johannesburg. They thought that they would not struggle to survive even before getting a job. All of them indicated that Johannesburg is the terrain for the survival of the fittest and an arena for competition and lack of communality in the neighborhood with local or Gauteng born.

6. 2. 14. Better life in Johannesburg

Despite their derailed expectation, they believe that to a larger extent their lives have changed for the better in comparison with their lives before while in the Eastern Cape. They pointed out that although they are not resourced as expected, but insisted that their lives have changed for the better. Respondents who raised that point indicated that

they get survival support from close kin and family members they stay with. One woman admitted that she is being supported by her sister while she is looking for an opportunity. Respondent 10 who was noted raising significant issues and intriguing views indicated in his own words that: “being in Johannesburg gives me an edge over those who are not here, I very happy and I am working” the same respondent further submitted that by virtue of being in Johannesburg exposes one to many cultures, to information, technological imperatives, and other means to life.

6. 2. 15. Strong tie with community of origin

All respondents indicated that they are in regular contact with their kin, family members in their area of origin. Most of them submitted that they visit home once a year and others any time when have enough money. The major reason for going home was based on the fact that “home will remain home” in that they can’t forget their origins in the Eastern Cape. One interesting dynamic about their stories in this theme, is that all eleven in-migrants will return home permanently at some point and to them Johannesburg is only for the purpose of income generation and not for lifespan or permanent stay.

They see their future in Johannesburg only for jobs, but not for permanent residence. In a nutshell, all interviewees have clear intentions of going back home at some point. This was the same issue in the study Peberdy & Msibi, (2004) on the migrants in the City of Johannesburg; internal migrants mentioned that they still retain strong links with their home location or sending households (Peberdy, & Msibi, 2004).

6. 3. Discussion of major Findings with the Framework of Literature review

6. 3. 1. Significant Conclusion

A major conclusion that was construed from respondent’s point of view shows that they were dependent on networks on arrival through members from the Eastern Cape Province in the form of family/kin, sisters in particular. The situation indicates that most of them just came and others were specifically called to come to work or search for a

job by their family members. When they first arrived in Johannesburg they fortunately secured jobs, but, regrettably at the time of the fieldwork others were no longer working at all, not even engaged in income generation activities and showing no signs of looking for any form of informal small businesses essential in generating income. In a nutshell, those who were found not involved in any income generation activities were too involved in job searching than anything else. Surprisingly, not even one respondent mentioned any form of credit or loans available to start business.

Core issues include;

-Family/kin, friend network connection as key to progressive livelihood approach

-Low levels of training, skills and education: barrier to access to formal sectors of income generation activities

-Johannesburg -“place to be” economic and social engagements

-Livelihood strategies: basic material and social assets

6. 3. 2. Network connection and livelihood approach

It is very important that the way Carney (1998), defines livelihoods be located within the context of rural-urban migration landscape. Carney (1998), defines livelihoods as the capacities, assets, including both material and social resources and activities required for a means of living. For the purpose of the research, the questions that were asked on material and resources shows that people from the Eastern Cape that were interviewed are more dependent on their wages to survive and very few are engaged in other array of activities to survive.

In terms of social resources respondents happened to be more inclined and dependent on their family/kin/ sisters to negotiate means of adapting to life and generate income in Johannesburg when they first arrive. Not necessarily surprising, eight respondents came to Johannesburg for the first time to their family members and then strive to survive and half of them were assisted by the same family members, especially sisters to access activities necessary to generate income. It is then becoming apparent that network connection and livelihood strategies talk to each other. Necessarily and inevitable, respondents believed that knowing someone in Johannesburg helped them

to settle especially when someone is also coming from their place of origin and coming from the Eastern Cape in general.
It is then unfortunate that some respondents have lost some of their jobs at the time of the fieldwork.

6. 3. 3. Low levels of skills, training and education: barrier for entry in robust sectors of the economy

The current research showed that eight respondents have matric as their highest level of education, with only one respondent with a degree and an honours degree. This is not justifying that education is the only way of becoming involved in income generation activities. However, inevitable, suitable training and education plays an important role in helping newcomers in the city to negotiate progressive ways of engaging in economic activities. This can assist internal migrants to climb the ladder earlier than expected from the newcomer if he or she is capable especially in provinces such as Gauteng where there are assortments of commercial, financial, community, educational and construction industries that cater for those who are dedicated to the future strides of the city.

However, having suitable training and education does not translate to better access to array of opportunities especially looking at the current unpredictable labour market, uncertainties in the informal economy, unemployment and inequality challenges and also not underplaying lack of commitment of people with suitable education and training.

On the other hand, lack or non-training and education are a serious hurdle to general development of any nation and a disadvantage to the individual, community and to the society at large. Presumably, it is not only strenuous for newcomers (internal migrants), but impossible to access commercial, financial, educational sectors of employment without training and education to any human being. At the same time as granted, they can indeed access the city business terrain most particularly informal businesses and also some formal markets if they robustly find ways of presenting themselves.

It is the most honest reality to submit that it is difficult to access some sectors of the economy without necessary tools such as training, skills, experience and education. It was emphasized in the bulk of the literature that internal migrants in Johannesburg have less educational standards as compared to the locals. This might be perpetuated by the pressing problems in sending areas especially in Provinces such as Eastern Cape, Limpopo and Northern Cape where poverty, unemployment and lack of infrastructure as revealed by some respondents in this research are most crippling factors.

Internal migrants sometimes find themselves faced by an obligation to migrate to look for jobs while sacrificing their education. Decline in manufacturing and mining jobs tied with massive retrenchments in these sectors may appear to be major instigators of such moves and crippling of education as many families were historically only dependent on the fathers, brothers working in these sectors. In a nutshell, lack of education and training will remain a barrier to access to some sectors of the economy in the recipient city. In this research, it emerged that respondents have only matric as their higher level of education and that is not enough in the 21st century advanced knowledge economic trajectory.

6. 3. 4. Johannesburg “place to be” versus economic and social engagements

Although the internal migrants interviewed appeared to be lagging behind in utilizing the existing city’s perceived economic and social resources they still view Johannesburg as the “place to be” for the better or worse. They felt strongly that the city of Johannesburg will eventually pave a way for better life. The challenge for migrants is to extend their level of economic and social engagement to other sectors and to other prominent non-migrants that might assist them to climb the economic ladder and become members of the envisaged inclusive and world-class city.

This will then assists to create contract with the city structures and break the syndrome of dependence on someone from Eastern Cape in the long run. It is in the interest of any city to have internal migrants becoming productive members of the city and investing in the city to realize the idea of inclusion or integration and world-class city.

6. 3. 5. Livelihood strategies: basic material and social assets

Respondents were not engaged in array of activities, as one would expect from migrants. they seem not be involved in the informal economy such as selling vegetables and fruits in the market, hair dressing salon and other related small businesses that are perceived to be tenable to city residents who are unemployed and those not studying on full-time basis. And only one in-migrant was engaged in sheeben/bar business being owners in Yeoville. This comes particularly as a supplement to their low wages from work. The researcher was stretched at some point to open a discussion with the respondents in an attempt to understand other means of income generation they might talk about.

This trend was intriguing during the qualitative fieldwork journey as respondents particularly woman felt that I also want to ask if they are engaged in sex work. The researcher was indeed vigilant of such a tendency and justifiable suspect by respondents hence I was asking the way they survive in the city. This was particularly true as the questions asked respondents on what they are doing to survive other than or beyond just being employed even after being found to be employed full-time. This was necessary in capturing and documenting any income generation activity that they have engaged in before and during the period of the fieldwork.

It then transpired they are more inclined to relatively limited income generational activities as against the assumption that the researcher held before the fieldwork. From the researcher's observation of the large Yeoville vegetables and fruits market, most hawkers are migrants from across the border and Zulu speaking who one cannot confirm whether they are from KwaZulu-Natal, locals from Gauteng Townships or elsewhere. This then tells a story that most internal migrants from the Eastern Cape prefer to search for employment and aspire to stay in the job if secured, and without necessarily engaging in other array of income generation activities. This is only my viewpoint based on the conclusion construed from this research, beyond what was found it remains a contestable terrain and an open debate that can generate innovative ways of intellectualizing fieldwork data and in improving sampling.

6. 4. Summary of findings

The findings of this part shows that first time arriving in-migrants survive through network connection derived from a family member either in the form of a kin, sister, brother or a father/mother already in Johannesburg. The study further shows that the in-migrants that were interviewed lack close-knit networks with the Johannesburg locals hence they are solely dependent on the people from the Eastern Cape. The study uncovered that the major livelihood strategies they used include; family/kin, partner, sister network connection to the person from the area of origin. However, beyond network connection, in-migrants happened to have limited strategies to generate income with dismal involvement in both informal and formal economic activities. Very few are involved in small businesses such as spaza shops and sheebens as their livelihood strategies.

However, these were found only in few respondents. Regrettably most of the in-migrants interviewed lacked training, skills, close-knit networks, skills and education tools necessary to climb the economic ladder in urban terrain. Three women landed in Johannesburg to work invited by their sisters; two to work for them (sisters) and one to seek a job for her. This research reflects that people from the Eastern Cape still maintain their communal reciprocity as shown by different scenarios in Yeoville. However, people from the Eastern Cape lack local knowledge and social networks combined with close-knit networks necessary in engaging with local or Gauteng born people and others from other provinces. Testimony to this is that their network connections are only limited to their sisters, friends, family/kin also coming from the Eastern Cape. For most of the time they rely on them to organize income generation activities and jobs and other activities necessary for a livelihood.

The research trajectory shows that internal migration is one area that needs close examination in the migration/urbanization issues. The research reveals that although Johannesburg has huge unemployment and poverty challenges, people still believed that “it is still a place to be”, “a place of hope”. Seemingly, from the sample that was covered, their education level, skills and experience required in the current labour

market of Johannesburg and in Gauteng is too little compared to what sectors demand. This then challenges both the internal migrants and the city managers to assess the situation, find barriers and strategize. It stretched migrants to be in position to create robust relations with the city stakeholders and business individuals and social partners, non-governmental sector in accessing capital or credit or starts their small business and lobby for support from the city.

The City of Johannesburg on the other hand must plan creatively for inflow of migrants into the city space and support their initiatives. This mirrored what was covered as people struggle to find jobs with reasonable pay. As shown in findings, for those who are employed, only one respondent felt satisfied and with a better salary, compared to other respondents. Others felt let down by their employers with inadequate working conditions and job insecurity. Those who are not employed still hope that they will get something soon.

On income generation, people happen to supplement their salaries through small spaza shop, sheebeens, others reported that they do private jobs during weekends by stealing materials from their firm for private jobs in household and sell some. They narrated that they do this because they are paid low wages and that the security alert in their firm is weak. For those who are unemployed, they are too engaged on job searching journeys than anything else. But others are relying on friends, partners and kin/family members others around and those from their community of origin. They continue receiving assistance from family/kin and close friends to survive. Their expectations about Johannesburg are now cleared; as they understand what Johannesburg is all about today. They have accepted the way life is organized in Johannesburg and they intended to be resilient to whatever happens.

All in-migrants intend to return home at some point and perceive Johannesburg as only a place to work and generate income and go back home. Most importantly, networks transpired to be key determinant for in-migrants adjustment and dictating of income generation strategies in Johannesburg and ultimately in finding a foothold. In nutshell,

ethnical networks were found to be very strong for the majority of migrants; even the respondent who was transferred from the East London Company to Johannesburg was helped by his homeboy to cross the ladder to the Johannesburg branch. Otherwise the rest of the respondents find their foothold through network connection.

6. 5. City of Johannesburg documented response to internal migration

In the context of globalization, cities have undergone and embarked on new patterns of activity. Fundamental in this regard is that metropolitan governance has become a very contestable terrain. Socio-economic challenges facing cities are multifaceted and require a holistic projection that operates within an understanding that cities formulate urban policies under a very chaotic and complex environment. It is becoming apparent that metropolitan cities are facing new challenges and most of the times are confronted with absurd challenges in its institutional and spatial development (Salet et al, 2003).

South African Cities Network Seminar that was held in last year (2005) argued that there is a need for a novel vision for South African cities to accommodate new arrivals from across South Africa. The seminar raised this need in order for cities to incorporate new arrivals into proper urban cultures and economies, access to critical social and financial services (South African Cities Network. Towards a Local Government Response to Migration and Urbanization. SA Cities Network Seminar, 2005, Seminar Report).

This section addresses the documented response of the City of Johannesburg to internal migration and livelihoods. There are two major strategic plans to be reflected upon, i.e. Growth and Development Strategy and the Human Development Strategy. Growth and Development Strategy is a new metropolitan scale planning strategy for Johannesburg that is very holistically in responding to issues on the priority agendas of the City and is a long-term strategic plan. Human Development Strategy also will be highlighted.

Human Development Strategy (2004) was a product of the responses and debates from City Council and other array of social partners and stakeholders. Debates and consensus culminated in the decision to complement previous Joburg 2030 economic growth with a more focused and narrower strategy meant solely for human development to address poverty, inequality and unemployment.

The most critical part of Human Development Strategy is that it uncovered that the economy of Johannesburg does not benefit all residents and that was the main crisis that needed urgent attention from the City Council. This was coined under the package of intervention under the umbrella of “Joburg Triangle”. It focuses on interventions such as; safeguarding and supporting poor and vulnerable households in their efforts to access local and provincial social safety nets, championing rights and opportunities for those who suffer the effects of structural inequality in the City; and building prospects for social inclusion by developing partnerships between the City and its residents. In doing so it argues that targeting human development is central from the short to medium term if the City Council is concerned about Johannesburg residents.

Most importantly, the Human Development Strategy reflected very covertly that the City requires a long-term strategy that will consolidate other existing strategies and put a very complete strong strategic future vision of Johannesburg. This was obviously a call for a progressive and responsive strategic coherence for the City of Johannesburg. This led directly to the formulation of the Growth and Development Strategy 2006. Growth and Development Strategy was put forward to ensure greater harmonization and alignment of the previous strategies and plans of both national and provincial spheres of government.

6. 5. 1. Documented Responses from Growth and Development Strategy (GDS, 2006)

“The importance of migration was highlighted by the Executive Mayor of the City of Johannesburg in his 2004 State of the City address: Johannesburg has become a magnet for people from other provinces, the African continent, and indeed, the four

corners of the world. He also referred to the challenges posed by migration: While migrancy contributes to the rich tapestry of the cosmopolitan city, it also places a severe strain on employment levels, housing and public services" (quoted in Gotz and Landau 2004:13, 14).

Johannesburg's population and household growth has been largely ascribed to in-migration. Testimony to this is the report that between 1996 and 2001 an estimated 364 792 people arrived in the City of Johannesburg. This signified that almost 11, 3% of Johannesburg's 2001 population was newly migrants from other South Africa provinces. The City of Johannesburg has recognized that with the huge number of migrants the city population is growing particularly the middle class category between 15 and 59 years old. They estimated that in 1996 and 2001 the majority of this population group was likely to migrate for work and other opportunities.

Growth and Development Strategy notes that the remarkable removal of apartheid barriers to movement resulted in saw pent-up demand for urban lives. This culminated in an initial flow of in-migrants in the early 1990s and this has been incessant since 1990s. Growth Development Strategy pinpoint that the City like Johannesburg was not prepared and designed to receive huge number of in-migrants hence lacking ready-at-hand tools and mechanisms to manage the process. Growth and Development Strategy contends that this resulted in many of poor of the poorest without choice finding themselves in informal settlements, backyard dwellings and in over-crowded inner city slums of Johannesburg.

Growth and Development Strategy further remark that it is a reality that most of these poor in-migrants who are new arrivals still struggle to really access the city. It contends that they face overwhelming exclusion from the City's economy, decent housing and urban services as well as other urban facilities, amenities, opportunities and benefits. Growth Development Strategy sees city newcomers as still trapped by the same apartheid forces that perpetuated labour migration. Growth Development Strategy

concludes that the City has put itself in a “contradictory position” that challenges and goes to the heart of what it means to be developmental local government.

The City Johannesburg has recently set a very robust city vision espoused in its new Growth and Development Strategy (GDS, 2006). The City vision narrates as follows:
’’In the future, Johannesburg will continue to lead as South Africa’s primary business city, a dynamic centre of production, innovation, trade, finance and services. This will be a city of opportunity, where the benefits of balanced economic growth will be shared in a way that enables all residents to gain access to the ladder of prosperity, and where the poor, vulnerable and excluded will be supported out of poverty to realize upward social mobility. The result will be a more equitable and spatially integrated city, very different from the divided city of the past. In this world-class African city for all, everyone will be able to enjoy decent accommodation, excellent services, the highest standard of health and safety, access to participatory governance, and quality community life in sustainable neighborhoods and vibrant urban space” (Growth and Development Strategy GDS, 2006).

This vision appears to be very inclusive and very participative and really reflects the essential elements of a world-class city. The vision is very ambitious in bringing the city constituents together in a very harmonious and developmental paradigm necessary for massive growth and reconstruction of the city. The major challenge reading from this vision lies on the capacity to deal with complexities and other informal and concealed dynamics facing newcomers in the form of in-migrants in the City. In-migrants are located in areas that the City sometimes ignores in critical agendas facing the city today. The city might not be aware on what migrants can bring to the function and efficiency of the City. Another challenge is that the City lacks sufficient data on the available newcomers in the city hence disadvantaging their projected plans.

The demographic study commissioned as base information for Growth and Development Strategy concluded that:

"*fertility of recent migrants from rural areas, both local and foreign, will affect total population fertility of the City. These people have moved to the City from areas with a tradition of higher fertility compared to the established residents. Fertility, as part of the culture, does not change overnight, and pockets of high fertility among recent in-migrants will tend to push up general fertility rates for Johannesburg".* (Growth and Development Strategy, GDS, 2006).

It is reported in the Growth and Development Strategy (2006), that the City has adopted a strategy for dealing with city migratory crisis and is solely dependent on promoting the urban transition, coupled by demographic and economic shift meant to put in-migrants rural households into full urban citizenship, with complete economic participation and full integration into the City's civic and cultural life.

It is noted in Growth and Development Strategy long-term strategic perspective that there is growing perception in the public domain that it will be difficult to do city planning without clear future population growth rates. The long-term perspective recognizes such a perception, inevitable and necessarily retaliating that Johannesburg demographic context is currently fluid. It surrenders promptly arguing that it is impossible to precisely know and project the future population growth of Johannesburg and this will take some time.

The Growth and Development Strategy plan responds that reading from historical trends and planning on the basis of growth at the maximum likely rate will permit progressive proper planning. It contends that it is proper to attempt something little on planning than doing nothing (Growth and Development Strategy, GDS, 2006).

A long-term response scenario postulated by Growth and Development Strategy on population growth contends that:

"Johannesburg can only embrace its growth-there is not a great deal that can be done to alter the course of many of the many of the external factors that will impact on this growth in the next 20 years. Politically, the city cannot, nor need to, adopt a "full up-apply elsewhere" attitude. History is replete with failed attempts to stem the economic pull that draws people to locate in certain areas. Yet the City, can, and many cities do, raise the cost of benefiting from living in Johannesburg. But as many of these costs, e.g., transport, are already high, and half of all household are poor by any definition, the option of using prices for "demand control" is not viable in the short term and may never be morally sustainable". (Growth and Development Strategy, GDS, 2006).

Growth and Development Strategy responds to what they conceptualize as "tenuous urbanization" by offering a strategic position contending that the City must cater and give attention to the opportunity-seekers appearing in the streets of the City and caution that they may leave the City and go somewhere. Growth and Development Strategy asserts that the challenge facing the City is to accommodate and assimilate newcomer's population to adjust in the City quickly. It further portrays that this process must be confronted hence no city can manage this without obstacles, tensions and strains on existing resources (Growth and Development Strategy, GDS, 2006).

Statistics South Africa, (2004) cited in Growth and Development Strategy (2006:19) represented a clear glimpse of conclusions based from a set of studies surmising the trajectory of South African migration and urbanization patterns. It contends that:

"Clearly, there is migration towards the larger urban conglomerations, but there are dynamics ties that keep the rural areas linked to the cities. At first glance the metropolitan areas are receiving a large population of in-migrants from other settlement types in the country. However, the permanence of this migration is challenged by data from sub-district level, and the ties between urban dwellers and the rural population may ensure the sustained existence of rural settlements, despite poverty and out-migration". (www.statssa.org.za. Statistics South Africa, 2004).

Growth and Development Strategy is necessarily:

"concerned with tenuous urbanization that is currently taking place in the City of Johannesburg. To their view and views from Statistics South Africa is that the temporary nature of rural-urban migration may add to the crises of overcrowding and poor living conditions in urban townships. The concern is that in-migrants continue to maximize their benefits to their household benefits and ignore the urban fabric in the urban setting where are staying. Most in-migrants seemingly are using gains they sought in the City to enhance their resources at their community of origin"(City of Johannesburg 2006: Growth and Development Strategy, 2006).

6. 5. 2. Proactive Absorption of the poor: Response of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality

The concern for the poor has been given a national and global attention and efforts are unfolding to curb forces trapping the poor of the poorest. South African has dedicated itself to address riddles facing the poor through array of development projects. Cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban are faced with the ongoing flow of internal and cross-border migrants arriving almost everyday. Such arrivals have a unique historical meaning in South Africa, majority of South Africans were forced out of the urban areas during the apartheid epoch to sprawling rural slums where they expected to live as "hewers of wood and drawers of water". They were only allowed to live and work in cities on limited temporary basis in cheap manual labour and predominantly in mining. They were obliged to live in poorly and under-serviced dormitory townships and in hostels.

The dawning of democratic governance after 1994 first general elections marked the demise of the apartheid regime. Free movements in the cities accelerated without obstacles and that culminated in two way escalations, with the poor settling and striving to chase livelihood and the rich becoming richer. This is the city reality that has raised strong discontent in the position of macro-economic policies in shaping the future of South African cities and rural areas. As indicated that Johannesburg was not built to receive large number of migrants and there are shortage of ready-hand tools and

instruments to deal with flows. This then sets a terrain for proactive mechanism to deal with dynamics facing internal migrants in the City of Johannesburg.

The City of Johannesburg through its policy strategic plan; Growth and Development Strategy conceived efforts of dealing with migrants under the principle of “proactive absorption of the poor”. This demonstrates an encompassing platform of dealing with issues facing all vulnerable groups in the City and special emphasis is also dedicated to migrants; particularly, internal migrants, as the research expected. This principle is set to facilitate the proactive absorption of poor into the City. The City of Johannesburg responds that there is a place for internal migrants in the City as they hope it will bring major benefits and vibrancy in the cosmopolitan city’s economic, social, political and cultural landscape.

The City recognizes socio-economic challenges faced by migrants in the City and it concedes that they cannot be chased to go somewhere else. It acknowledges that it is a magnet for many people coming from other parts of the country who are seeking opportunities. Statistics South Africa, (2004) notes that although internal migrants who are newcomers might be equipped with skills, connections and access to capital, many will still struggle and be not in a position to secure livelihoods immediately as they would like.

The City yield that large of number of poor residents coming in the city need to be given a chance to explore and secure livelihoods and deviation from that will mean that the city undermines stability. The City of Johannesburg concedes that it would not be planning effectively in meeting national government objectives if it hopes that the poor will eventually go somewhere else if they are not given attention by the city.

Growth and Development Strategy in its principle of “proactive absorption of poor” responds by aligning every effort to constitutional obligations and duties in meeting the needs of the poor and basic needs of the community. The principle manifests by ensuring that the following mechanisms are adhered to in enhancing and integrating the

needs of the poor and migrants. The principle genuinely response to the needs of the poor and migrants under the following means:

-Enabling the poor to access basic livelihoods, by assisting them to secure social grants, facilitate skills development and basic employment opportunities and supporting "self-help" projects, initiate micro-enterprises and community based co-operatives

-Ensuring the affordability of municipal services, public transport and social facilities

-Accommodating the poor by ensuring that they can find and retain lowest-cost rental housing opportunities without needing to resort to life in informal settlements and inner city slums

-Assimilating the poor by making sure that they are not relegated to the margins of the city but instead find places in mixed income residential spaces, bringing them to consciousness about political governance, enabling them to feel that they are part of the winning city by participating in sports, recreation, arts and culture

-Making allowances for the poor in how the built environment and use public space that is managed and regulated, by devising mechanisms to restructure informal trading, spaza shops and backyard dwelling.

6. 5. 3. Comments on Sentiments by Growth and Development Strategy

Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) call for a progressive and responsive strategic coherence for the City of Johannesburg. Growth and Development Strategy 2006 was put forward to ensure greater harmonization and alignment of the previous strategies and plans of both national and provincial spheres of government. It is without doubt the City of Johannesburg through Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) has a progressive and sound intervention strategy for internal migrants under proactive absorption of the poor stance positioning migrant's livelihoods as the core issue. Granted it advocates for an inclusive city that is striving to realize its world-class vision as it considers the needs of the migrants.

However, Growth and Development Strategy (GDS), is not necessarily putting attention to the major riddles facing newcomers in the City especially in-migrants from other South Africa Provinces. One can argue robustly against the city sentiments and

positions concerning internal migrants, particularly newcomers. Firstly, a new strategy of Growth and Development Strategy under such an intellectual cooperate planning unit of the city has to articulated clearly the profound urbanization dynamics. Secondly, the City is still under the impression that cross-border migrants are to a larger extent compared to internal migrants exert strains to its public service delivery landscape and therefore underplays the importance of internal migrants.

The City Council and managers are aware of the fact that Census 2001 indicated data that there were only 6,7 % cross-border migrants in the City and overwhelmingly 35,5% internal migrants coming from other South Africa Provinces. One might also argue that the City through its strategic plan creates a platform or a terrain to look at internal migration as a "strategic trust" in its agenda to not just for service provision but for creative space, place and infrastructure planning.

In addition, Growth and Development Strategy only address the issue of migrants only in "Development Paradigm" chapter 3 and there is no emphasis on long-term strategic picture and necessary mechanisms under its Long-Term Goals and Strategic Interventions. It is just placed under the principle of the proactive absorption of the poor with sentiments without essential instruments to realize principles. This stance if planned adequately will benefit the City very strongly in skills and this could translate to the acceleration of the economic growth and in realizing the inclusion and world-class city vision.

6. 6. Human Development Strategy (HDS 2004)

It has been noted that at international, national, provincial and local levels, human development agenda is claiming an increasingly prominent position and is topping priorities. The intention of the Human Development Strategy is to provide a progressive vision within which city policies accommodate a human development perspective and addresses conditions such as poverty, inequality and social inclusion on a city-scale. Significant indicators show that almost more than half of the households in

Johannesburg earn less than R1 600 or less a month, and almost one in five residents do not have formal housing.

A human development perspective adopted by HDS recognizes that people are the city's biggest asset and that they need to be supported and motivated to realize their full potential to become full-fledged urban residents. The Human Development Strategy presents the city plan for combating poverty and for promoting human development in the medium term to 2016 (City of Johannesburg, 2005. (Human Development Strategy, 2005).

Responses and debates from the City Council and array of stakeholders culminated in the decision to complement Joburg 2030 economic growth with a more focused and narrower strategy meant solely to address poverty and unemployment. This resulted in the formulation of the Human Development Strategy (HDS) in December 2004. The most critical part of HDS is that it uncovered that the economy of Johannesburg does not benefit all residents and that was the main crisis that needed urgent attention from the City Council. This was coined under the package of intervention under the umbrella of "Joburg Triangle".

It focuses on interventions such as; safeguarding and supporting poor and vulnerable households in their efforts to access local and provincial social safety nets, championing rights and opportunities for those who suffer the effects of structural inequality in the City; and building prospects for social inclusion by developing partnerships between the City and its residents. In doing so it argues that targeting human development is central to the short to medium term if the City Council is concerned about Johannesburg residents.

Human Development Strategy responds that new arrivals and newly displaced people will be promptly provided with urgent and interim household services. This shows that the City is aware and concerned about the newcomers. Again the city is responsible for accommodating new arrivals and in directing them to policy governance of the city. It is

also encouraging that the only second broader scale metropolitan plans considered new arrivals and migrants as important part of the city and therefore need specific urgent attention.

Human Development Strategy recognizes that not all residents are equally able to claim their rights and opportunities. It contends that the poor and unemployed particularly struggle perpetually to join the labour market. Human Development Strategy notes particularly that certain groups are suffering from economic inequalities. It notes that this particularly affects children, youth and the women, but also notes that this exacerbates when it includes migrants.

Human Development Strategy focuses particularly on migrants in relation to social exclusion. It notes that the kind of social exclusion that migrants suffer has become a worldwide phenomenon. Peberdy et al, (2004), asserts that migrants may find themselves living in particular areas of the city which are stigmatized such as Yeoville and Hillbrow. These areas are seen as leading to social and economic exclusion as well as contribute to poverty. Peberdy et al, (2004), argued that migrants both internal and cross-border may also find themselves excluded on the basis of identity (Peberdy et al, 2004).

This is very precise especially for the newly arriving migrants who might be confronted by social and economic obstacles based on their race, ethnicity and language. They may struggle to interact and adapt to the new city environment and hence grapple to secure income generation activities. Census 2001 reinforced the fact that the majority of people coming to Johannesburg are internal migrants from other provinces in South Africa. Census 2001 provides that there are a limited number of cross-boarder migrants entering Johannesburg (Statistics South Africa, Census 2001). This is necessary data to inform and shape the public perception and stereotype that there are thousands and millions of cross-border migrants in South Africa.

Peberdy et al, (2004) contends that whist not all migrants might be vulnerable, there is a growing evidence to suggest that many of these migrants reside in informal settlements or inner city areas upon arriving in the city. This correlates with the assumptions of the present research as it surmised that some internal migrants from the Eastern Cape are mostly concentrated in the inner city areas such as Yeoville, as the qualitative fieldwork was conducted there. It is also by virtue of their spatial locality that these migrants find themselves vulnerable to the consequences of limited access to economic, social and physical opportunities (Peberdy et al, 2004).

Human Development Strategy argued that strategic solutions to most excluded city residents need not harm and undermine their livelihoods. It contends that groups of residents surviving in the informal economy often have the least access to formal institutions and it proposed solutions by providing for the; establishment of a City-driven investigation and review of which by-laws have a negative impact on the lives of the city residents and investigating where the lack of regulation is prejudicing the poor.

Human Development Strategy contends that migrants are incessantly confronted with social exclusion when they first arrive in the city. In response to exclusion, Human Development Strategy advocated for a progressive “social inclusion agenda” by embarking in two key ways. First, by building social cohesion among all city residents and second, creating positive partnerships for the social inclusion in the city (City of Johannesburg, 2005. Human Development Strategy, 2005). Human Development Strategy consolidated this by further advocating for social cohesion programmes and building community trust in the city. In addition, it promises the poor residents of the city of Joburg by confirming that the city is committing itself to building; equity with Joburg, an inclusive city, a broader developmental role for the city and world-class Africa for all (City of Johannesburg, 2005. Human Development Strategy, 2005).

6. 6. 1. Comments on Sentiments by Human Development Strategy (HDS 2004)

Human Development Strategy (HDS 2005) is very clear and precise at it locates migrants within the problems of inequality and exclusion. It maintains that migrants are facing exclusion in the urban arena and it advocates for the progressive intervention to address the dilemma. It caters for migrants and reveals the concerns they commonly face when they arrive as newcomers in the urban terrain; “the unknown territory”.

Human Development Strategy (2004) must be commended for putting forward the view that new arrivals and newly displaced people will be provided promptly with urgent and interim household services. This is very interventional and is essential for the newly and firstly arriving internal migrants in the city as sometimes they lack or have no social or family or friend networks at all. Probably such in-migrants need such an intervention insinuated by Human Development Strategy. It is also commendable for acknowledging that in-migrants are faced with economic inequality. It is very critical to have such thinking from the City that relates newcomers with economic incentive. However, it remains a challenge on how these proposed interventions are being pragmatic.

6. 6. 2. Unrelenting contradictions between Human Development Strategy and Growth and Development Strategy

It can be argued that the manner the Human Development Strategy assumed and put forward the mandate on in-migrants was essential in feeding the information to the new Growth and Development Strategy. But that in my views happened very minimally. As much as the new Growth and Development Strategy 2006 is a well informative strategic plan that calls for inclusiveness, it relates little to the subject of internal migration and broader urbanization challenges. It carried little from the previous plans and that manifested in major issues being underestimated.

6. 6. 3. Strategic plans engaging internal migration

Internal migrants that were interviewed happened to be very reluctant to engage themselves with array of income generation activities. As indicated that that only two respondents, one with sheeben and one with a spaza shop represented those who are

the arena of income generation activities essential in sustaining a livelihood and supplement low wages.

Respondents happened to find themselves not interested or thinking about informal economy, small businesses that might be essential considering the majority of them lack necessary higher education, skills and training to climb the labour market in sectors such as commercial, financial, construction and even community services. They are presumably in comfortable zones and this creates dangers in humanity that might result in what is called; Dependency Syndrome.

These factors then give the City of Johannesburg grounds to sometimes ignore their presence due to the silence and idleness. But at the same time the City needs correct intervention and close the gap they know. Every City official and administrator is aware that some people in the grassroots who are not even internal migrants, but local Johannesburg residents are not aware of the city processes and participative processes such as Integrated Development Planning (IDP), tied by Local Economic Development, Sector plans, and other means of getting funding to start or boost the existing small business. Then if some local Johannesburg residents are not informed, what about the information gap that exists between them and internal migrants who are newcomers in the City of Johannesburg. There is a need for the City to realize its mandate and start to create flexible contract to push frontiers of poverty with newcomers in the city to realize the sustainability, integrated and inclusive city that strives to realize its developmental aspiration to become world-class city.

The chapter was an account of the findings of the study from internal migrants and to the position of the City of Johannesburg in terms of its two strategic future plans. It became evident that there is need for an alignment of issues from migrants and From the City position. Reality strike as the City seems to not consider internal migration and broader urbanization impact as critical issues as the study expected. The following chapter engages the major findings from both angles providing exact summary of findings and the implications of the study to the planning field.

Chapter 7: Summary and Implications for Planning

7.1. Findings from both angles: In-migrants livelihood strategies and City of Johannesburg documented response

The findings of the study shows that first time arriving in-migrants survive through background network connection derived from a family member either in the form of a sister, brother or a father/mother already in Johannesburg. The study further shows that the in-migrants lack close-knit networks with the Joburg locals hence they are solely dependent on the people from the Eastern Cape. The study uncovered that the major livelihood strategies they used includes predominantly, historical network connection that only assures them of a place to stay on arrival, but not guaranteeing them source of income generation activities. Others are involved in small businesses such as spaza shops and sheebens as their livelihood strategies.

However, these were found only in few respondents. Regrettably most of the in-migrants interviewed lacked training, skills, close-knit networks, skills and education tools necessary to climb the economic ladder in the urban terrain. Generally, those who are unemployed are not engaged in income generation activities while those employed supplemented their wages by income generation activities such as spaza shop and shebeens. In a nutshell, network connection to the person from the area of origin, predominantly family member was found to be the major livelihood strategy for Eastern Cape internal migrants. However, beyond network connection, in-migrants happened to have limited strategies to generate income with dismal involvement in economic activities necessary for a livelihood.

On the domain of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (CJMM) documented response, it was found that the City of Johannesburg through its city strategic documents acknowledged the presence of internal migrants with audacity set of principles and interventions as responses. However, in contempt the City regress in conceal about internal migration and urbanization impacts. It has no clear long-term perspective and intervention or mechanism to cater for internal migrants. The study

concluded by arguing that the City of Johannesburg's official position on internal migration is silence necessarily because the City governing of Johannesburg believes that it is cross-border migrants who may influence predominantly service delivery and to a large extent inflict strain.

The study argues that internal migrants are predominantly influential and they form a large proportion of the population of Johannesburg. Lastly, City of Johannesburg Metropolitan must find a way of locating internal migration as part of their mandate in taking the city residents beyond just service rendering.

The needs of internal migrants must find an expression in the Integrated Development Planning and in Growth and Development Strategy in the long-term perspective and programme interventions of Growth and Development Strategy. In a nutshell, principles and plans for migrants covered in the "Developmental Paradigm" of Growth and Development Strategy must be taken further and are included in long-term goals and intervention programme in order to realize feasible mechanisms to take the principle of proactive absorption of the poor forward in the city.

7.2. Implications for Planning and Conclusion

The current information on the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality strategic metropolitan scale planning suggests that migration, particularly; internal migration is starting to gain attention in the development agenda. As it may be, Integrated Developmental Planning (IDP) 2006/11, the Human Development Strategy HDS 2004, Joburg 2030 and the new Growth and Development Strategy (2006), remarkable have little and others nothing on programme interventions on migration. Hope was that the new Growth and Development Strategy 2006 would recognize the dilemmas faced by new migrants in the City of Johannesburg in its Long-term Goal strategic perspective and interventions. The major concern is that chapter two of Integrated Developmental Planning (IDP) focus attention only to the role that migration has on economic prosperity of the City and ignore assortment of dilemmas facing migrants.

This informs the need for rethinking of the City governance policies. Urbanization and migration inevitably needs to be mainstreamed as a serious cutting issue in all Cities planning and strategizing. There is a strong need for constant and intensive interaction among academics, city leadership, and managers, migrant's experts and migrants themselves. This is very critical as it is indeed inevitable for city managers to become aware of the most pressing issues facing migrants and implication of urbanization in cities.

Moreover, Johannesburg city plans need to go beyond by creating platforms for migrants to forge a broader and more independent network that transcends merely to immediate kin or sister and friendship cycle. Internal migrants need to understand that it is through the amalgamation of close knit-and social-knit networks that they can obtain the benefits and be able to chase tenable livelihoods that ensure basic needs with access to an array of urban economic opportunities. They also need to participate in the informal economy booming market and also in the civic society sector to sustain a livelihood.

Reading from the evidence of this research, urban planning has a critical role to play in upholding and fostering social capital, social cohesion and human solidarity as emphasized in the Human Development Strategy (HDS-2004) of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. The city planning must be awakened about the importance of migration and that urban plans and policies must integrate networks and social capital in creating autonomous residents that continue to network, engage one another intensively with small businesses, economics, finance, trade, culture, politics, society, identity and all other aspects pertinent in shaping urban livelihood strategies of internal migrants.

To wrap up, I concur strongly with Robinson (2006) who argues that cities need to create and locate their city strategies in a manner highly vigilant to the contextual circumstances facing the city. He further linked this by saying the city needs to propose a development agenda relevant to the context and refrain from the tendency of

offensively advertising city ambitions to be a “global city” a “competitive-city”. This is very correct looking at the assortment of riddles facing the developing nations. It can then be argued that it is highly premature for African cities to claim to be global world-class cities.

For thriving cities such as Johannesburg such debates can be entertained essentially because tangible development progress has been made. But at the same time we need to be careful about such claims as the city is still experiencing grassroots level challenges such as exclusion of some groups in the economic realm of the City. The City still have the same city officials who are combating exclusion in City governance actually perpetuating exclusion. Migrancy has been seen in the City of Johannesburg as bringing novel waves of economic growth. However, the same City officials are whispering that it causes strains to service rendering trajectory. If that kind of a contestable terrain is created, then how do we realize the inclusive city challenges and the “world-class vision” for Johannesburg?

It is very pivotal to conduct such a study that documents people’s lives as cities are confronted with a challenge of globalization and massive urbanization. Coupled with this is to understand how newcomers survive and purse livelihoods in the new urban terrain. As noted in the findings, people adopt multiple strategies to adapt in the new area and do not rapidly acclimatize to the new dynamics as evident in this research that they continue to function in a miserable level. Future studies in this line of investigation must reconsider taking forward this kind of research. It will be proper to extend the study by investigating livelihood strategies of internal migrants and cross-border migrants in Johannesburg coming from different provinces and those from other African countries for the purpose of comparison using the qualitative techniques.

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Appendix:

Interview Questionnaire

Background of the research

My name Mawethu Pepu, a Masters student from Wits University: Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment: School of Architecture and Planning: Department of Town, Regional and Development Planning, conducting interviews for my Research Report which aims to investigate and to provide a conceptual insight into the urban livelihood strategies of newly arriving in-migrants in the Johannesburg; particularly on how they generate income in the midst of socio-economic challenges, and to reflect on the City of Johannesburg policy response to internal-migration. Here reference is made to in-migrants from the Eastern Cape Province.

If you agree, I would like to ask you a series of questions about your life, experiences and opinions. This is not a test or an examination and my questions allow you to open up and be free about issues. Your responses will help in developing a better understanding of the needs and ideals of people living in your area. What you say will be kept confidentially and will not be given to anyone.

Since I am a student, I cannot promise you anything for your participation except my unconditional appreciation.

Are you ready to go ahead?

Interviewer should sign in the appropriate box below:

Yes
No

Time of the interview

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Age of the interviewee

18-25	26-30	31-46	47-55	+

2. Neighborhood/ Interview area

……

……

3. Respondent's sex

Male	
Female	

4. What place or area in the Eastern Cape are you coming from?

5. How long, in total, have you lived in Johannesburg? If this is not your first time to live here, please tell me how long have you lived here altogether?

Less than 1 week	
I Week-1 Month	
More than 1 month but less than 3 months	
More than 3 months but less than 6 months	
More than 6 months but less than 1 year	
More than 1 year but less than 2 years	
More than 2 years but less than 3 years	

More than 3 years but less than 4 years	
More than 4 years but less than 5 years	
More than 5 years but less than 6 years	
More than 6 years but less than 7 years	
More than 7 years but less than 8 years	
More than 8 years but less than 9 years	
More than 10 years	

6. What is the highest level of formal education you have completed, when? And is it helping you today to survive?

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7. Apart from which you just describe, have you had any sort of additional training or education? And what kind of training? And why you opted for that training.

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8. What languages can you speak and understand and what is your mother tongue?

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9. Do you think that languages you know help you here in Johannesburg' How? Please explain

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SECTION B: PLACE OR ORIGIN

10. Where do you come from?

.....

11. What place or area in the Eastern Cape are you coming from?

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12. Is your area urban or rural

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13. Where it is, what activities did you do there

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14. Reasons for leaving you area

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15. Why did you ultimately decide to leave community of origin

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……
……
……

16. Where did you go to *first* when you left area of origin? And for how long**?**

……
……

17. For what reason – why did you go to that place rather than somewhere else?

……
……
……

18. What year did you leave your community of origin to go live somewhere

……

SECTION C: COMING TO JOBURG

19. When you were thinking about leaving community of origin, did you already have relatives or close friends living in Johannesburg? And who they are?

……
……
……
……

20. Were you in regular contact with them before you left and how?

……
…….....

21. What year did you arrive in Joburg?

……..

22. Why did you come to *Johannesburg* (rather than Tshwane or Durban or Cape Town etc.)? please explain.

……
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……
……
……

23. Did anyone encourage you to come to Joburg? Who? Why?

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……
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24. Did anyone assist you to come to Joburg? Who? Why/ please explain

……
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……
……

25. What kind of help did they give you, please explain

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……..

SECTION D: LIFE IN JOBURG

26. Once you arrived in Johannesburg, whom did you first try to contact here? You can select more than 1 option?

Local South Africans	
Kin or Family members already in Johannesburg	
Friends in Johannesburg	
Members of pre-migration community	
People from Province of Origin	
South African aid workers/NGO	
South African government officials	
Religious leaders	
Chiefs/village heads from home community	
Chiefs/village heads from another community	
Employer	
Educational institution	
Other (Specify):	
No-one	

27. Has anyone in your family stayed here in Joburg before you, if yes
Who? When? And why they were in Joburg?

28. In what part of Johannesburg did you stay for the first week after arriving in the City? (e.g., town name, suburb, neighborhood.

Alberton		Jeppestown	
Bellevue		Kensington	
Berea		Malvern	
Bertrams		Mayfair	
Bez. Valley		Observatory	
Braamfontein		Riverlea	
Jhb CBD		Rosettenville	
Cyrildene		Yeoville	
Doornfontein		Other (Specify)	
Fordsburg			
Hillbrow			

29. With whom did you stay for your first week in Johannesburg?

Friends from the Community of Origin
Friends from Tribe of Origin
People I didn't know from community of origin
Members of pre-migration community
Family/kin already in Johannesburg
Friends from another part of South Africa
I stayed in a shelter
I stayed at a hotel
I stayed at a guest house/lodge
I stayed at a hostel
Shelter/residence arranged for by organization of migrants from my community (specify):
No-one (on my own)
Other (please specify)

30. What sort of accommodation did you stay in?

Was it a Flat?

Backyard room

Informal settlement

SECTION E: Economic Networks and Livelihood Strategies

31. How is your household here in Joburg, who you live with?

……

……

……..

32. How would you say is the primary income earner in your household here in Joburg?

……

33. What did you do to make money when you first come to Johannesburg? The first activity you did? If respondent simply says ‘work’, ask: What kind of work activity?

……

……

……

……

34. How did you get into doing this activity?

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……

……

35. How did you hear about it?

……

……

36. Did someone assist you?

……
……
….

37. Did you have this skill?

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……..

38. Where in the city did you do this activity?

……
……..

39. Why there? And how did you get there?

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…….

40. Whom did you work for or with when you first come to Joburg?

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……

41. How would you describe your income generation strategies? And what are doing to survive?

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……

42. How would you describe the kind of income generation activities that you are currently doing here in Johannesburg?

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……..

43. Do you know where people or group you are working with coming from?

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44. Did you know them before you work with them?

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……...

45. Given your education and experience, what kind of income generation activities would you like to be doing?

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……
……..

46. Do you sometimes hear about credits or loans to start or improve own business here in Johannesburg?

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……..

47. If you don't mind me asking, approximately how much do you personally earn per week and how do you spend that money, please explain

……
……
……
……

48. Have you ever received any assistance from any organization since coming to Joburg? If
Yes:……
……

49. Which organization? And How? And Why?

50. How would you describe your circumstances across a range of livelihood related criteria?

How is your housing and access?

Access to health services,

Access to schooling etc –

Access to work and economic opportunities

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……
……
……

51. How is your current situation compare to the past before coming to Joburg? Have you changed for the better?

……
……
……
……

52. Have you assisted others in Joburg, if yes:

From where?

Why?

When?

In what way?

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.....

.....

.....

53. Please tell me when you last were in contact-by phone, e-mail, or letter-with kin or family in community of origin and those in other areas, those around Johannesburg if there are

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And for what purpose?

.....

.....

Do you send money home?

.....

How often do you travel home?

.....

For what purpose?

.....

.....

How long do you intend to stay in JHB?

.....

Why do you say this?

.....

.....

Do you see a future for yourself in Joburg? Why?

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.....

.....

Do you see a future for your children?

.....

.....

Lastly, do you think knowing someone in Johannesburg is important into your life

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Do you have any comments, please write them down here.

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Thanks for your time, I appreciate

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